THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOL.	XVIII	NO. 4	DECEMBER	1936

CONTENTS	
The Madonna of Humility BY MILLARD MEISS	435
Two Triptychs and a Crucifix in the Museo Cristiano BY PARKER LESLEY	465
The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries BY DAVID M. ROBB	480
The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours BY DONALD DREW EGBERT	527
The Mosaics of Hammam Lif BY FRANKLIN M. BIEBEL	541
A Comparison of Byzantine Planning at Constantinople and in Greece	552

PUBLISHED BY

BY JAMES GROTE VANDERPOOL

THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION INCORPORATED



EDITOR: JOHN SHAPLEY

EDITORIAL BOARD

ALFRED	M.	B	ROO	KS
WALTER	W.	S.	COC	K
WILLIAM	B.	DII	NSM	OOR
WILLIAM	M.	IV	INS	JR.

Reviews

DAVID	M.	RO	BINSON,	CE	IAIRMA
	FIS	KE	KIMBAL	L	
FR	ANI	ζ I.	MATHE	R.	IR.

CHARLES D. MODEN
CHARLES R. MOREY
JOHN PICKARD
JOSEPH PIJOAN
PAUL I. SACHS

570



THE ART BULLETIN

SUSTAINING INSTITUTIONS

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO °

WALTERS ART GALLERY



Fig. 1—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Madonna of Humility, by Shop of Simone Martini



Fig. 2—Palermo, Museo Nazionale: Madonna of Humility, by Bartolommeo da Camogli

THE MADONNA OF HUMILITY

By MILLARD MEISS

N the Museo Nazionale at Palermo there hangs a panel which represents the Madonna seated on a small cushion on the ground (Fig. 2).1 She is turned oblique to the picture plane, her head is inclined gently toward the left, her further leg is raised higher than the nearer one, and she holds close to her body the Infant Christ. The Infant draws her breast into His mouth, while at the same time He turns His head away from her and looks out at the spectator. From the head of the Virgin radiate thin spires of gold, at the tips of which are twelve stars; and at her feet is visible a small crescent moon. This painting, while of no considerable quality, has an historical importance as one of the earliest dated (1346) examples of the Madonna of Humility. The Madonna of Humility, a phase of the Madonna distinguished by her lowly seat on the ground,² attained a very wide popularity in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in Italy, and appeared, beyond Italy, in Spain, France, and Germany. Van Marle has listed over fifty examples of the Italian Trecento alone,8 and even this long list omits a great many important, as well as provincial examples. The popularity of the subject would seem to invite an inquiry into its content, the place and the date of its origin, and the general tendencies which were factors in its creation, problems which have been only very briefly commented upon heretofore.4

1. An outline of this essay was read before the Fourteenth International Congress on the History of Art in Berne, September, 1936.

2. The term "Madonna of Humility" is commonly applied to representations of the Virgin in which she is seated on the ground. The inscription "Nostra Domina de Humilitate" appears on a number of Madonnas (including the Palermo Madonna) all of which show, however, not only the lowly posture, but also the Virgin nursing the Child, and the symbols (stars, moon, sun) of the Woman of the Apocalypse. This would suggest that "Madonna of Humility" signified, in the fourteenth century at least, a particular representation of the Virgin which combined all these elements; but, on the other hand, a Florentine Madonna seated on the ground, in the storeroom of the Academy (no. 3161), wherein the stars, sun, and moon are absent, and the Child is not suckling, bears the following inscription: RESPEXIT. HUMILITATEM. ANCILLE SUE. ECCE. E. EX. HOC. B (Luke I, 48). This, then, indicates that the humility of the Virgin resided primarily in the single fact that she was seated on the ground, and we shall consider every devotional image of the Madonna that exhibits this one character a Madonna of Humility, excepting, of course, compositions such as the Madonna in the Rose Garden, which though they may have been influenced by the Madonna of Humility, contain additional symbolic forms and belong to a different type. Furthermore, the Madonna of Humility is really identified, in a sense, with one period, the Trecento and early Quattrocento. For, although in the advanced Quattrocento, early Cinquecento, and later the Virgin was frequently seated on the ground (not only in Madonnas but also in other compositions such as Holy Families), the fact that she is seated on the ground had no longer the very specific and special meaning which it had in Trecento and early Quattrocento art and culture.

3. Van Marle, Development of the Italian Schools..., VI, p. 69. Betty Kurth (in Belvedere, 1934, pp. 6 ff.) added one or two paintings to Van Marle's list, which she reprinted in part without, however, any attempt to correct the many erroneous dates and attributions. Those errors which are misleading in the study of the history of the type I shall endeavor to correct later on.

4. Remarks on the Madonna of Humility have been confined almost wholly to suggestions as to its place of origin. M. Salmi (Masaccio, Rome, 1930, p. 110, and in Rivista a'Arte, 1930, p. 309) seems inclined towards a Marchigian origin; U. Gnoli (in Enciclopedia Italiana, s. v. Maria Vergine) suggests the possibility of a North European origin, though he does not state what North European examples he had in mind; H. Thode (Franz von Assisi, Berlin, 1904, p. 507), and B. Berenson (Venetian Painting in America, N. Y., 1916, p. 3) look to Bologna; B.

The Palermo Madonna represents in many respects, which we shall discuss later on, a new and remarkable creation of Trecento art, one which could scarcely have been achieved by the ordinary talent of the author of the Palermo panel, but only by a leading painter in a progressive Italian center. It is significant, therefore, that a similar Madonna of approximately as early, if not earlier, date, was painted by a master very close to Simone Martini (Fig. 1).5 This painting, no. 1072 in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, was probably made some time between c. 1335 and 1345, and is far superior to the Palermo panel in quality. Although the composition is reversed, and it differs from the Palermo Madonna in certain minor respects (the placing of the Virgin's hands and the absence of the stars and moon), the two show so fundamental a resemblance that one must infer either a dependence of one (Palermo) on the other (Berlin), or a common prototype. The latter alternative is much more probable, for in view of the small size of the Berlin panel, as well as its differences from the one in Palermo, especially the absence of the moon and stars, it could scarcely have been the model of the Palermo painting. Now the Palermo panel is as completely, if not as capably, Simonesque as the one in Berlin. Its author, Bartolommeo da Camogli.⁶ a Ligurian painter, manifests his derivation from Simone not only in the Madonna of Humility itself, but also in the small Annunciation painted in the spandrels above it, which depends upon Simone's Annunciation of 1333 or a similar painting by him. There is every reason, then, to assume that the prototype of the Palermo and Berlin paintings was a Madonna of Humility by Simone Martini.

Although the painting by Simone Martini which, according to our assumption, the Berlin and Palermo panels imitate is lost, one Madonna of Humility by him has come down to us—the badly damaged fresco in the tympanum of the Portail Roman of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, in Avignon, painted between c. 1339 and 1343. In this painting the Virgin, attended by the donor, Cardinal Stefaneschi, and a number of angels who hold a drapery behind her, is seated on a cushion in exactly the same way as in the Berlin and Palermo panels. The similarities do not extend further, however, for apparently because of the large scale of this painting and its position in the portal, Simone has here created a much more monumental and less sentimental composition. The Child is seated upright upon the Virgin's knee. He holds a scroll in His left hand, and blesses (?) with His right. This painting, made outside Italy, and differing

Kurth (op. cit.) suggests Siena; R. Oertel (Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft, VII, p. 193, note 1) a lost work of Simone Martini copied by two panels in Berlin and Palermo which I shall discuss later; and Georgiana Goddard King (Art Bulletin, XVII (1935), pp. 474 ff.) makes a claim for Spain. Cf. also E. Sandberg Vavalà, La Pittura veronese, Verona, 1926, p. 114, and C. R. Post, A History of Spanish Painting, Cambridge, Mass., II, 1930, p. 231. Miss King, in the article mentioned above, has studied not only the place of origin of the Madonna of Humility, but other problems connected with it. Her views will be commented upon in the latter part of this paper.

5. B. Kurth, op. cit., gives it to Simone; R. Offner, in the Arts, V (1924), p. 245, to Lippo Memmi; C. Weigelt, Sienese Painting of the Trecento, n. d. (1930), note 63, and B. Berenson, in International Studio,

February, 1931, p. 26, close to Lippo Memmi; R. Van Marle, op. cit., II, p. 226, hesitantly to Donato (the brother of Simone), of whose work there is no documented example extant. There is no sound evidence for Miss King's statement (op. cit., p. 486) that the painting was made in Avignon.

6. The panel bears the inscription: MCCC. XXXX. VI. HOC OPUS PINSIT. MAGISTER. BARTOLO-MEUS. DE CAMULIO. PINTOR. Bartolommeo da Camogli is mentioned in documents between 1339, when he took an apprentice, and 1348, probably the year of his death (cf. Carlo Arù, in *Bolletino d' Arte*, 1921, p. 267).

7. The best reproduction of Simone's fresco is in L. H. Labande, *Primitifs français* (Provence occidentale), Marseilles, 1932, pl. IV.

in scale from the usual Madonnas of Humility (most of them comparatively small panels), had very little, if any, influence; but its existence strengthens the assumption that Simone painted another Madonna which was imitated in the Berlin and Palermo paintings.

Beyond the Berlin panel, there are no extant representations of the Madonna of Humility by the immediate circle of Simone in Siena. On the other hand, four paintings by Andrea di Bartolo and his shop (cf. Fig. 3)⁸ are evidently copies of a Madonna of Humility of Simonesque style (now lost) which resembled closely the Berlin and Palermo Madonnas. It is clear, furthermore, that the Madonna of Humility was a popular subject in Siena, for there are a large number of other Sienese examples painted in the second half of the century.⁹ These Madonnas, it is true, differ more or less from the Simonesque version represented by the Berlin and Palermo panels (to which I shall hereafter refer as the Simonesque version). But they differ also from one another, and this absence of a common prototype proves that there was no Madonna of Humility painted in the first half of the century in, or even outside, Siena which rivalled Simone's in fame and importance.

The same conclusion si induced, in an even more decisive way, by the character of the Madonnas outside Siena, in the other Italian centers. Let us turn first to Naples. After the visits of Cavallini, Giotto, and Simone, Naples was largely isolated from the development of Trecento Italian painting, and the few, indifferent Neapolitan paintings from c. 1335 to c. 1365 are imitations of either Giotto or Simone Martini, or the two together. Because of this comparative isolation and this unusual limitation to two stylistic sources, the fact that the Neapolitan representations of the Madonna of Humility are wholly Simonesque in style is very significant: there is every reason to assume that the early Neapolitan examples are based directly

9. Bartolommeo Bulgarini, Lehman collection, and shop of Bartolommeo Bulgarini, Lanz collection, Amsterdam (where the Virgin is playing with the Child, Who is climbing up into her lap; cf. Meiss, in the Art Bulletin, 1931, fig. 27); Sienese c. 1365, Berenson collection (same composition as Lanz Madonna); Sienese, late Trecento, Johnson collection No. 153 (Fig. 21); Niccolo di Buonaccorso, unknown whereabouts (reproduced by Berenson, International Studio, Jan., 1931, p. 29); Andrea di Bartolo, two panels of unknown whereabouts (reproduced by Berenson, op. cit., p. 30), and one in the collection of Mrs. A. E. Goodhart, New York; Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Duomo, Siena, and Platt collection, Englewood; Francesco di Vannuccio, in the market.

St. Joseph is seated on the floor alongside the Virgin and the Child in a painting in the Hamilton collection, New York, by the school of Ambrogio Lorenzetti (reproduced in *The Arts*, V, 1924, p. 247); this is perhaps the earliest Holy Family in Western art. Similarly, the domestic elements (low wall, bobbins) which appear in the Johnson Madonna (Fig. 21) and the Niccolo di Buonaccorso, as well as the rather playful, genrelike action in the panels in the Lanz collection and the Berenson collection, all seem to have originated in the circle of the Lorenzetti.

^{8.} Two of them (one in the Ehrich Galleries, New York, in 1929, Fig. 3; another of unknown whereabouts, reproduced by Berenson in International Studio, Feb., 1931, p. 30) are signed by Andrea. A third is in the Kress collection, and the fourth in the Stoclet collection in Brussels (attributed by Van Marle, op. cit., V, pp. 449-450, to Simone, with question). In all four, the Child is wrapped in a white drapery, and the Child's left arm is held straight, particulars which do not appear in any other examples of the Madonna of Humility. Van Marle, op. cit., V, pp. 449-450, mentions a replica of the Berlin Madonna in a private collection in Rome. This painting, which he attributes to Simone with question, I do not know. The Berlin Madonna (or a painting exactly like it) was copied by a fifteenth century Sienese painter, in a triptych of unknown whereabouts (reproduced by Berenson in International Studio, Feb., 1931, p. 26) and again, though somewhat more freely, by Giovanni di Paolo in his panel in S. Simeone, Rocca d'Orcia. Additional examples of the Madonna of Humility by Andrea di Bartolo or his circle, in which the composition varies in different ways from the Simonesque type, are in the following collections: Brooklyn Museum, Detroit Museum, Art Institute of Chicago (very Simonesque), private collection in Geneva, and in the market (reproduced in Dedalo, 1930, pp. 345-7).

upon a painting by Simone Martini. The best of them (Fig. 5), one of the three in the church of S. Domenico Maggiore, 10 was originally on the tomb of Johanna Aquinas, who died in 1345; 11 and this external evidence for a date not much after 1345 is supported by the style, which follows Simone so closely that it is possible to specify the period of Simone's development upon which it depends: that is, the Neapolitan, represented by the large panel of St. Louis now in the Naples Gallery.18 Because of this, and because of the unusually large number of Simonesque Madonnas of Humility among the few extant Neapolitan paintings, one might be led to advance the hypothesis that Simone painted a Madonna of Humility during his stay in Naples, c. 1317, were not all the extant examples in other regions so much later in date.

Equally Simonesque, and equally close to the composition of the Sienese and Neapolitan Madonnas, are the earliest examples in the school of Bologna (Fig. 4),18 in Padua, Modena (Fig. 7), Fisa (Fig. 6), and Pistoia, none of them before 1350. Likewise, the Venetian Madonnas, three of which—in the Thyssen collection. in

10. The other two are in the chapel of the Crucifixion and in the narthex. Cf. Rolffs, Geschichte der Malerei Neapels, Leipzig, 1900, p. 41, and Alinari photo. 33442.

 The panel bears the Aquinas coat of arms.
 The technique of raising into relief some of the ornament, the fleur-de-lys stamped into the gold border, the angels, as well as the style as a whole, indicate as the source of this painting Simone's panel of St. Louis.

Similar to this Madonna in S. Domenico Maggiore are the paintings in S. Pietro a Maiella (according to Rolffs, a later copy of it) and in S. Chiara (cut down; reproduced in Van Marle, op. cit., V, fig. 211). A painting in S. Lorenzo (reproduced by Rolffs, op. cit., fig. 41) shows the motif of the Child taken over into a half-length representation of the Madonna. A Madonna of Humility of the latter part of the century in the Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (attributed to Roberto Oderisi in Burlington Magazine, Sept., 1927, p. 133), the composition of which differs considerably from the Neapolitan group, is interesting because of the appearance of the Pietà in the pinnacle (cf. below,

13. All the Bolognese Madonnas are relatively late in date. Cf. Andrea da Bologna, 1372, Gallery, Pausola; Simone dei Crocefissi in S. Martino, Bologna (Van Marle, op. cit., IV, p. 404, as Vitale); Lippo Dalmasio, in the Pinacoteca in Bologna (photo. Croci No. 3120), in the Gallery at Pistoia, in the Misericordia, Bologna (reproduced by Van Marle, op. cit., IV, fig. 231), and in S. Giovanni in Monte, Bologna (attributed by Van Marle, op. cit., IV, p. 403, and Kurth, op. cit., to a much earlier painter, Vitale). Cf. also the Madonnas by Giovanni da Bologna in the Academy, Venice (Fig. 14), and in the Brera in Milan (reproduced by E. Modigliani, in the Burlington Magazine, 1911).

A Madonna by Vitale da Bologna in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum in Milan (Vavalà, in Rivista d' Arte, 1929, p. 474, fig. 18) shows the Virgin seated on the ground beside the Child, with Whom she is playing. This painting is related by its style, its playful character, and by such domestic details as the low wall and the flasks, to the Sienese Madonnas (school of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Hamilton collection; Bartolommeo Bulgarini, Lanz collection; Sienese Trecento, Berenson collection and Johnson collection) mentioned in note 9.

14. Niccolo Semitecolo, 1367, Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare. This differs in minor respects from the usual type. A Veronese Madonna, formerly in the Cannon collection, now in the Museum of Princeton University, shows wider divergences. Prof. Mather (Art in America, 1936, p. 52) mentions, without definitely approving, the view of J. P. Richter (to be published shortly), that the panel was painted by Altichiero II," presumably before the middle of the century; but the earliest possible date for the painting seems to me to be c. 1365.

15. Paolo da Modena, 1372, Modena Gallery (cf. P. Bortolotti in Atti e Memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di Storia Patria per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi, VII, 1874, pp. 583 ff.). The panel bears the inscription: LA NOSTRA DONNA D. UMILITA F(RATER) PAULUS DE MUTINA FECIT. ORD (INIS) P(RAE) DIC (ATORUM).

16. Giovanni di Niccolo, Cà d'Oro, Venice, and

Kress collection, New York.

17. In Pistoia there flourished a cult of the Madonna of Humility, fostered in the sixteenth century and later by the miracle performed in 1490 by the Madonna now in the church of the Madonna dell'Umilità (cf. note 53). This Madonna, sometimes incorrectly attributed to Giovanni di Bartolommeo Cristiani (Tolomei, Guida di Pistoia, Pistoia, 1921, pp. 81, 91, 95), was executed by a Pistoiese painter c. 1370. Of about the same date, and also of local origin, are the Madonnas in S. Bartolommeo in Pantano (first altar, right) and in the cloisters in S. Domenico. (I owe information about these Pistoiese Madonnas to Prof. Richard Offner.) Illuminating is the appearance of this very Sienese composition in Pistoia, a town usually dominated by Florentine

18. Reproduced in Dedalo, XI, p. 1730, and there attributed by Van Marle to Paolo Veneziano. It is close in style to Paolo's Coronation of the Virgin in the Frick collection dated 1358.



Fig. 3—New York, Private Collection:

Madonna of Humility, by

Andrea di Bartolo



Fig. 4—Florence, Private Collection:
Madonna of Humility, by
Simone dei Crocefissi



Fig. 5—Naples, S. Domenico: Madonna of Humility, by a Neapolitan Follower of Simone Martini



Fig. 6 - New York, Kress Collection:

Madonna of Humility, by

Giovanni di Niccolo



Fig. 7—Modena, Gallery: Madonna of Humility, by Fra Paolo da Modena



Fig. 8—London, National Gallery: Madonna of Humility, by Venetian School



Fig. 9—San Severino, Gallery: Madonna of Humility, by Allegretto Nuzi

S. Anastasia, Verona, and in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 8) 19—may have been painted as early as c. 1355/65. The early date of these Madonnas, as well as the popularity of the subject in Venice, 20 might suggest the possibility of a Venetian origin of the type; but this must be rejected because of the wholly Sienese character of the composition, and because of the absence in Venice—an unprogressive center at this period, dominated by Byzantine and Sienese influences—of those sources and analogous motifs which, as we shall see, are all found in Tuscany.

The Marches have sometimes been considered the region where the composition originated, because of the number and homogeneity of the examples painted there. The earliest Marchigian Madonna of Humility is the panel in S. Domenico, Fabriano, 21 dated 1350, thirteen years later than Bartolommeo da Camogli's painting and approximately as many years later than the Berlin panel. It was painted by Francescuccio Ghissi, whose style depends, in general and in this specific work, upon Allegretto Nuzi. There is an almost identical Madonna of Humility by Nuzi (Fig. 9) in the Gallery of San Severino, dated 1366, and he must have painted an earlier example -before 1359-which served as Ghissi's model. This assumed Madonna of Humility by Nuzi, painted certainly before 1359, was with almost equal certainty not painted before c. 1350, for his first dated work is of 1365,22 and none of his paintings can be placed much more than ten years before this.

The fact that the Madonna of Humility appeared in the Marches first in the work of Nuzi is of considerable significance, for he was the first Marchigian painter to achieve an assimilation of Tuscan style. There would be, then, reason to suppose that Nuzi borrowed the composition of the Madonna of Humility from the same source from which he drew every other character of his style: Tuscany. This actually occurred, for his Madonna, as well as those by his pupil Ghissi and later Marchigian painters,28 is very similar to those in Berlin and Palermo, so similar, in fact, that his style appears, in this work, Sienese. Now the Sienese character of

19. The Madonnas in S. Anastasia and in the National Gallery were attributed to Lorenzo Veneziano (active from c. 1357-1372) by E. Sandberg Vavalà (La pittura veronese, Verona, 1926, fig. 39, and Art in America, XVIII, p. 54). The London Madonna, though certainly Venetian, is given to Tommaso da Modena by the catalogue of the National Gallery (1929, p. 366) and by Betty Kurth, op. cit.; L. Coletti, in L'Arte, 1931, p. 131, attributes it to Giovanni da Bologna.

G. G. King (op. cit., p. 469) discusses the curtain and

the marble parapet in this work without recognizing that they were painted in several centuries later.

22. I do not believe that either the triptych in the Hamilton collection, dated 1354, or the St. Anthony in Fabriano of 1353 are by Nuzi (they have been attributed to him by Berenson, Studies in Medieval Painting, New Haven, 1930, pp. 63 ff.).

23. Ghissi's representations of the Madonna of Humility, in addition to the example in S. Domenico, Fabriano (1359) mentioned above, are in S. Andrea, Montegiorgio (1374; reproduced in Van Marle, op. cit., V, fig. 108); in the Fornari collection, Fabriano (1395; Van Marle, op. cit., V, fig. 108); in S. Agostino, Ascoli Piceno (Van Marle, op. cit., V, fig. 110); in S. Domenico, Fermo (Van Marle, op. cit., V, fig. 109); and in the Vatican Gallery (Van Marle, op. cit., V, fig. 111). Early fifteenth century Marchigian examples are the Madonna in the museum at Ancona, and, by the same painter, Madonnas in the Cleveland Museum (Van Marle, op. cit., V, fig. 105), in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and in the Worcester collection, Chicago (attributed by L. Venturi, Pitture Italiane in America, pl. 104, to Jacobello del Fiore).

^{20.} Later Venetian examples of the type are: in the Thyssen collection (reproduced in Dedalo, XI, p. 1371, and there attributed by Van Marle to Caterino); in the Worcester Art Museum (signed by Caterino); S. Maria a Mare, Torre di Palme (Van Marle, Development of the Italian Schools ..., IV, fig. 44); and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Berenson, Venetian Painting in America, p. 3). The late fourteenth century Madonna in the National Gallery (No. 4250) and Caterino's Madonna of Humility in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, differ considerably from this group of Venetian paintings. Cf. also the Madonnas by Giovanni da Bologna mentioned in note 13.

21. Reproduced in Van Marle, op. cit., V, fig. 106.

this painting is all the more significant because Nuzi's stylistic sources may be specified more narrowly than simply "Tuscan"—they were in general exclusively Florentine, and particularly Bernardo Daddi and Maso di Banco. A comparison of the San Severino panel, however, with his other Madonnas reveals how he has largely abandoned in that work his typically rugged and solid form in the attempt to achieve a characteristically Sienese rhythmical line and languorous sentiment. The soft, partly transparent drapery of the seminude Child is Sienese, and he has adopted even the Sienese motif of a loose fold hanging down free from the Child's body, which appears in both the Berlin and Palermo panels. The fact that a master so completely dependent on Florence adopted a Sienese composition is good proof of the renown of the Sienese prototype, especially when there were Florentine paintings of the subject which he might have imitated.

The earliest extant examples of the Madonna of Humility in Florence were painted by Bernardo Daddi-the most "Sienese" painter of his generation - and his followers. Daddi's Madonna is on the back of the central panel of the Parry altarpiece, dated 1348; 24 the composition was merely laid in, and has suffered serious damage, so that only the configuration of the larger forms can be seen today. It was copied closely, however, by his follower Puccio di Simone, in the altarpiece now in the Florentine Academy (Fig. 11). This painting also has been partly destroyed, by a repainting which may account for certain differences from Daddi's panel, such as the glance of the eyes of both the Madonna and the Child. In Daddi's painting the Madonna looks at the Child, and the Child at the spectator. Now this composition of the Madonna of Humility by Daddi and Puccio is the only early one in all Italy which differs radically from Simone's. Instead of the intimacy—between both the Madonna and Child, and the sacred figures and the spectator—which is inherent in all the Simonesque paintings, Daddi's composition, fundamentally Giottesque, is distinguished by its statuesqueness and monumentality. The Virgin is seated more erectly and turned further towards frontality, in order to effect a bolder construction of mass and space, at the sacrifice of the Sienese undulating contours. Symptomatic of the change is the omission of the free-hanging fold of the Child's drapery. The Child is not actually suckling, and His body is not drawn so close to the Virgin, so that, even though He looks out at the spectator, He remains quiet and reposeful, without the dynamic contrapposto of the Simonesque motif.

Daddi's painting of 1348, made very near the end of his life, may not have been his first Madonna of Humility. He may have painted one ten or fifteen years earlier, prior, possibly, to Simone's. This seems unlikely, however, because of the usual dependence of Daddi on the Sienese, and because of the lack of any considerable number of Madonnas of Humility among the very numerous works of Daddi's school. I know, in fact, only one other Daddesque example—the Madonna in Dijon, 25 and even this draws away from Daddi towards Simone's composition.

Florence and Siena, the two most progressive centers in the Trecento, tended, more than the other Italian schools, to depart from the early compositions of the



Fig. 10-New York, Lehman Collection: Madonna of Humility, by Orcagna and his Shop



F16. 11—Florence, Academy: Madonna of Humility, by Puccio di Simone



Fig. 12—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Madonna of Humility, by a Follower of Agnolo Gaddi



Fig. 13—Florence, Academy: Madonna, by a Follower of the Cioni



Fig. 14—Venice, Academy: Madonna of Humility, by Giovanni da Bologna



Fig. 15—Massa Marittima, Museo: Madonna, by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (detail)



Fig. 16—Palua, Parish Church: Madonna of Humility, by Jaime Serra



Fig. 17—New York, Morgan Library: Madonna of Humility in Ms. 80, f. 151. French, c. 1350/70



Fig. 18—Formerly Yates-Thompson Collection:

Madonna of Humility in Book of

Hours. French, c. 1400



Fig. 19—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Madonna of Humility in Ms. 232. French, c. 1410



Fig. 20—New York, Morgan Library: Madonna in Ms. 46, f. 85v. Flemish, c. 1430



Fig. 21—Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Museum: Madonna of Humility, by Sienese School



Fig. 22—London, National Gallery: Madonna of Humility, by the Master of Flémalle



Fig. 23—Rome, Catacombs of Priscilla:
Madonna. Second Century



Fig. 24—Siena, S. Francesco: Madonna del Latte, by Ambrogio Lorenzetti

Madonna of Humility, even though these compositions were created in those very centers. In Siena, as we have seen, numerous modifications of Simone's composition were introduced, especially the interior or domestic version, probably Lorenzettian in origin (Fig. 20).96 In Florence Daddi's composition was soon developed by Orcagna, in the Madonna, probably designed but not painted by him, now in the Lehman collection (Fig. 10). This composition, despite certain Sienese assimilations, shows a further development of Daddi's interest in monumentality and the establishment of a "distance" between the Mother and Child, and between them and the spectator. The Child is moved still further from the Virgin's breast; He now lies so low in her lap that only one of His extended arms and hands can reach it. The composition of the Lehman Madonna was copied many times, 27 and is the one which appeared most frequently in Florence in the late Trecento,28 but some painters carried the Florentine tendencies even further by representing the Child seated erect on the Virgin's knee.29 On the other hand, in the early fifteenth century, the most Gothic moment in Florentine art, painters of the school of Agnolo Gaddi, very linealistic and much under Sienese influence, reversed the tendencies of the preceding development in Florence and reverted to the composition of Simone Martini (Fig. 12).80

The history of the Madonna of Humility in Florence is, furthermore, distinguished by transformations of another kind. For it was in this center that the general tendencies of the later Trecento (c. 1355 on) towards abstract, hieratic, two-dimensional style first led to a radical change in the type. In this new composition (Fig. 13), which appeared occasionally outside Florence also, the seated Virgin, often together with her cushion, is raised high on the gold background above the ground

^{26.} Cf. note 9.

^{27.} Panels in: the Tolentino collection (Giovanni del Biondo); Academy, Florence (central panel of a triptych; in the wings Michael and Gabriel, Anthony and Paul); Academy, Florence, storeroom, no. 3161 (by a follower of Spinello Aretino); Museum, Avignon (by Niccolo di Pietro Gerini); church in Cevoli, near Pisa (close to Lorenzo di Niccolo); Satinover Galleries, New York (Orcagnesque; photo. Reali 218); two Orcagnesque panels of unknown whereabouts (reproduced in *Dedalo*, XI, pp. 1308 and 1310); G. G. Barnard collection, New York (Orcagnesque); and, in the fifteenth century, Masolino, Alte Pinakothek, Munich

An Orcagnesque Madonna in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, may be described as midway between the Dijon and Cione compositions.

Mario Salmi, Masaccio, Rome, 1930, p. 110, viewed the history of the Madonna of Humility in Florence differently. He believed it was introduced into Florence by Allegretto Nuzi, and cited the Madonna della Pura, S. M. Novella, and the detached fresco no. 33 in the Museo di S. Croce as evidence of this. But both these frescoes (the one in S. Croce not before 1400, in my opinion) are much later than Daddi's Madonna in the Parry collection and the Daddesque Madonnas in Dijon and the Academy, Florence. And even though the Madonna della Pura (which follows the Simonesque composition) be connected with Nuzi, Nuzi's own Madonnas of Humility

were painted a good deal later than the first Florentine examples.

^{28.} There are a few Florentine examples of this period which do represent the suckling Infant, but He is placed entirely in profile. Cf. Florence Academy no. 3156, Orcagnesque; and P. Weiner collection, Leningrad (reproduced in Starye-Gody, 1908, p. 712; attributed by Van Marle, op. cit., IV, p. 367, and by Kurth, op. cit., to the school of Bernardo Daddi, whereas it is, in my opinion, a partly repainted work of the end of the fourteenth century).

^{29.} Madonnas in the Municipio, Chianciano; formerly in the Chiesa collection, Milan; no. 7689 in the gallery at Strasbourg (much repainted); no. 345 in the Museum at Münster; two panels by followers of the Cioni in the storeroom of the Uffizi; collection Dard of the Dijon Museum (c. 1400); collection Baron Lazzaroni, Paris (c. 1400).

^{30.} Madonnas in: Museo Nazionale, Florence, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, by the "Master of the Straus Madonna;" Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum no. 1118; three panels of unknown whereabouts (reproduced by Berenson in *Dedalo*, XI, pp. 1308-1310). Also, though somewhat less closely related, no. 62 in the Parry collection.

Unique in the school of Florence from c. 1350 to c. 1380 (except the Madonna della Pura) is an Orcagnesque Madonna in the collection of L. Douglas, for it is a very close imitation of the Simonesque composition, and shows also the twelve stars.

plane, ⁸¹ as were also, for example, Christ and the Virgin in the Coronation at this period. In these paintings she, like all other sacred figures at this period, becomes far less accessible to the spectator than she was earlier. She is no longer the Madonna of Humility, but a remote and visionary celestial apparition.

This composition persists in the Quattrocento and later; but it was rationalized, and, in a sense, naturalized, by the substitution of a bank of clouds for the suspended cushion upon which the Virgin had been seated. The fifteenth century adopted, also, the true Madonna of Humility, and up to the middle of the century, it was almost as popular as in the preceding period. The Quattrocento, however, tends to ennoble the representation. For whereas in the fourteenth century the Virgin sits on a cushion on the ground, and the setting, when any is shown, is a simple domestic one, in the fifteenth century the Virgin is often raised on a dais above the ground or floor, a rich brocade is spread behind her, and elaborate stone architecture is sometimes introduced. The Child, furthermore, is rarely shown suckling.

Although both the creation and the major part of the later development of the Madonna of Humility were due to Tuscan painters, one important innovation was apparently made outside this region, in northern Italy, and probably in Venice. In Giovanni da Bologna's Madonna in the Academy, Venice (Fig. 14), as well as in Caterino's Madonna in the Worcester Museum, painted around 1380 or 1385, the usual bare floor has been transformed into a flowered field or garden. This "garden type," idyllic and colorful, was especially congenial to the period around 1400. It was developed chiefly in northern Italy (Stefano 35 and Pisanello 36), but was adopted also by other centers, such as Siena, 37 and it probably influenced the creation of the fifteenth century representation of the Madonna in the rose garden. 38

Simone Martini's composition of the Madonna of Humility was taken up, in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, by the three European regions which were, during that period, intensively engaged in the assimilation of Italian style and iconography. It appeared in Bohemia in the Madonna in Sts. Peter and Paul on the Wyschehrad, Prague.³⁹ It was introduced into Spain by the most Simonesque of

^{31.} Cf. the panel by a follower of Nardo di Cione in the Academy, Florence; the panel by a follower of Gerini in the Museum of Chateauroux; the altarpiece by Mariotto di Nardo in the Academy, Florence; and the Marchigian painting in the Walters Art Gallery.

^{32.} Cf., for example, Lorenzo Monaco, Pinacoteca, Siena; and, later, Raphael, Madonna di Foligno.

^{33.} Cf. Fra Angelico, Morgan collection, New York; Gentile da Fabriano, Museo Civico, Pisa; school of Angelico, Ad. Schaeffer collection, Frankfurt.

^{34.} Fra Angelico, Pinacoteca, Turin.

^{35.} Madonnas in the Worcester Museum, and in the Verona Gallery (assimilated to the "hortus conclusus").

^{36.} Madonna della Quaglia, Verona.

^{37.} Madonnas by Andrea di Bartolo in the Brooklyn Museum, in the Goodhart collection, New York, and the two reproduced in *International Studio*, Jan., 1931, p. 30.

^{38.} The existence of these late Trecento and early Quattrocento Italian Madonnas of the "garden type" invalidates the argument (or rather polemic) of L. Maeterlinck (L'énigme des primitifs français, Ghent, 1923, pp. 98 ft.), who tries to prove that the composition of the Virgin seated in a garden is not German in origin, but French, whereas actually it appeared first in Italy. Furthermore, Maeterlinck, who did not know the examples in French illumination, tried to prove his thesis by dating around 1350 a Madonna in the Louvre, which, though possibly based upon an earlier work, was actually painted in the middle of the fifteenth century.

^{39.} Cf. B. Kurth, op. cit., fig. 11. In the early fifteenth century the Madonna of Humility (but no longer the Simonesque composition) appears in the school of Cologne (panel formerly in the Weber collection, reproduced by Worringer, Anfange der Tafelmalerei, fig. 95), and in Germany may be found also the "garden type" (panel by the school of Lochner in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich).

the Catalan painters, Jaime Serra (Fig. 16).40 Furthermore, Spain, which at this period became almost as dependent upon Tuscany as were some north or south Italian centers, took up even Bernardo Daddi's composition of the Madonna.41 which in Italy seems to have had no influence outside Florence itself. The first example of the Madonna of Humility in France is, so far as I know, the miniature in a Book of Hours in the Morgan Library, painted about 1360 (Fig. 17). The miniature was painted in the outlying region of Metz,49 and is rather poor in style, so that it is almost certain that it derives, not directly from an Italian composition, but from an earlier French example made in a more progressive French center. Inasmuch as the style shows some resemblance to Pucelle and his followers in Paris, it seems possible that the Madonna of Humility was introduced in France by this group of Parisian painters, who were the first to assimilate Italian (Sienese) style and iconography. The Madonna in Morgan Ms. 88, like the early examples in Bohemia and Catalonia, follows the Simoneque version common throughout Italy, not the composition of Simone's fresco at Avignon. It differs, however, in a number of ways from the usual Italian composition. The Child is, remarkably enough, entirely nude. The Virgin places one hand on her breast, as in many Northern Nativities, and in the Daddesque Madonna of Humility at Dijon. The moon shows, added to the crescent, a man's face, common in Northern, especially German, representations of the Apocalyptic Woman and the Virgin on the moon. Furthermore, the floor or ground plane under the Madonna is missing, and the cushion has been replaced, apparently through a misunderstanding, by large folds of the Madonna's mantle. 48 Many of these peculiarities reappear in a miniature in a Book of Hours of unknown whereabouts, painted in the same region but a little later in date.44

At the end of the fourteenth century, and in the early years of the fifteenth

40. The earliest Spanish example is probably the Madonna by Jaime Serra at Palau reproduced above (Fig. 2) (not the painting in the Ramon collection, Saragossa, as B. Kurth, op. cit., claims). In this painting, made c. 1360/75, adoring angels appear at either side of the Madonna, as in many Italian examples. The Child's torso in placed more vertically than in the earliest Simonesque paintings. Later Spanish examples, all following closely this Palau composition, are in the following places: S. Salvador, Valencia (reproduced in Museum, VII, p. 290); Private collection, Madrid (reproduced in Museum, VII, p. 281); Muntadas collection, Barcelona; Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona (from Torroella de Montgri, reproduced in Post, op. cit., II, fig. 169, and Art Bulletin, XVII (1935), opp. p. 480); no. 44 of the Bosch collection, Prado (Post, op. cit., II, p. 272); Plandiura collection, Barcelona (Post, loc, cit.); Valencia, Museo Diocesano no. 15 (Post, op. cit., II, p. 274).

Miss King, op. cit., inclines to the belief that the Madonna of Humility was created simultaneously in Spain and Italy (pp. 489-90), which would seem highly improbable because of the very great similarities of the Italian and Spanish examples (these compose a type as fixed as the Hodegetria, as Miss King herself observes); or she suggests that the Italian examples

depend upon the Spanish, a view that is not tenable because of the chronological facts (the type must have appeared in Italy no later than c. 1335, at least fifteen years before the earliest Spanish example), also because of the formal qualities of the type (beyond question Tuscan and Sienese—see the second section of this study), and the fact that the first Spanish Madonnas appear only in the works of painters whose style and iconography were derived to a very great extent from Italy.

41. Cf. the panel in the Obrería del Cabildo, Cordova (Post, op. cit., III, p. 308 and fig. 359).

42. The Book of Hours is for the use of Metz. Ms. 91 in the Walters Art Gallery shows a similar style.

43. The Madonna is adored by a lady whose prayer, written on the background beside her, is: "Glorieuse vierge pucelle q de la tres douce memelle e latas to tres chiers efans Fait ma cocience si belle que la moe arme ne chancelles iour de mo trespacement." The miniature, like a number of those mentioned below, is placed above a prayer beginning "Domine labia mea apperies."

44. Cf. the Catalogue of Manuscripts, mostly Illuminated, many in Fine Bindings, offered for sale by J. and J. Leighton, London, n. d. (c. 1915), no. 321, with reproduction of the Madonna of Humility.

century, when French painting was in its most Italianate phase, the Madonna of Humility was as common there as in Italy. Some of these later French Madonnas resemble closely the Simonesque type, 45 but the majority introduce modifications of the original version, and show a wide variety of composition.46 The most remarkable of these is a Madonna in a Book of Hours for the use of Bourges, formerly in the Yates-Thompson collection, painted by a follower of Jacquemart de Hesdin (Fig. 18). This extraordinary miniature is a close copy of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Madonna in the large Maestà at Massa Marittima (Fig. 15), or a Madonna of Humility by this painter in which he used a similar grouping of the Madonna and Child. The Yates-Thompson miniature, or possibly an original by Ambrogio, was copied c. 1410 in Brit. Mus. Harley Ms. 2952, f. 71v, a manuscript which shows strong Italian tendencies and which contains three Humility Madonnas of different types (ff. 71v, 86v, 115). The reproduction (in part) of Ambrogio's great Madonna in a miniature a few centimeters high is a striking example of the enthusiasm of French illuminators for the monumental character of Italian art, for Italian panel and fresco painting, rather than for Italian illumination, to which the French painters of this period, as of, indeed, the entire fourteenth century, less frequently turned.

In the early fifteenth century, French painters took up the "garden type" (Fig. 19),⁴⁷ which had been evolved in Italy around 1380 (Fig. 14). From France this type, as well as earlier versions of the Madonna of Humility, passed to the Netherlands.⁴⁸ Similarly, there was adopted probably first in France (though I can cite no examples), and then, under French influence, in the Netherlands, the Italian type (cf. Fig. 13) in which the Madonna of Humility, by being suspended high above the ground, becomes a remote, visionary Virgin in glory (Fig. 20).⁴⁹ And, finally, the Italian "domestic type" (Fig. 21), taken either from intermediate

45. Cf. the Madonna in a Book of Hours formerly in the Chester Beatty collection, by a follower of the Boucicaut Master; the Madonna in Brit. Mus. Harley Ms. 2952, f. 115, c. 1410; a wood statuette in the Louvre, no. 153, late fourteenth century, which is an almost exact translation into sculpture of Simone's composition.

46. Cf. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat 924, f. 241 (Leroquais, Les Livres d'Heures de la Bibl. Nat., pl. 22), made c. 1400 by a painter influenced by Jacquemart de Hesdin; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1161, f. 130 v, by the Boucicaut Master; the Royal Library, The Hague, Ms. 76. G. 3., f. 298v, a poor manuscript of c. 1400/10, probably northeast French in origin; the Bedford Hours, Brit. Mus. Add. 18850, f. 25; Victoria and Albert Museum Ms. 8. 12. 02-1647, f. 126, a hitherto unrecognized manuscript by the shop of the Rohan Master.

47. Walters Art Gallery Ms. 232, made c. 1405/10 by a follower of the Boucicaut Master. The Virgin, wearing a crown, is seated in a garden (which has here been identified with the "hortus conclusus" of the Song of Solomon). A very similar Madonna, but with St. Joseph and without the enclosure (a Holy Family, then), appears in Morgan Ms. 359, f. 31v, painted by a follower of the Boucicaut Master. Cf.

also Brit. Mus. Cotton Domitian A XVII, f. 75, c. 1430.

48. For the Madonna of Humility in the Netherlands cf. The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. 133.D.14., f. 11v, c. 1415/20; Walters Ms. 172, c. 1435; and Walters Ms. 211, c. 1425; and in Flemish sculpture cf. the tomb relief of Gerard Parent, Ste.-Wandru, Mons, early fifteenth century, and a Madonna of the same period, no. 185 in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp. For the garden type in the Netherlands cf. Walters Ms. 215, c. 1410; The Hague Royal Library Ms. 74.G.34, f. 15, c. 1425; Walters Ms. 170, c. 1420/5; Walters Ms. 246, c. 1435; Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 8.12.02 (1691), f. 61v, c. 1435/40, probably English but under strong Flemish influence; panel related to the Master of Flémalle, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. The "garden type" usually omits the sun, stars, and moon, but occasionally (The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. 131.G.3, f. 14, c. 1430 cf. Byvanck, La Miniature Hollandaise, I, pl. 6) the Virgin in a garden wears a crown of stars, and the moon appears in the grass!

49. Morgan Library Ms. 46, f. 85v; Walters Art Gallery Ms. 166, f. 61v, both Flemish, c. 1425/30, and belonging to the "Gold Scroll" group.

French examples or directly from Italian models, was developed in a naturalistic way in Flemish panel painting by the Master of Flémalle, in his panel in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 22).⁵⁰

The Italian, French, Bohemian, and Spanish examples of the Simonesque type of the Madonna of Humility form a group unique in fourteenth century art for its homogeneity. There is not even in any single Italian school a large series of paintings of one subject which resemble each other so closely as do these Madonnas of Humility painted throughout Italy and elsewhere in Europe. This wide diffusion is partly accounted for by the fact that the composition was created by Simone Martini, whose style exerted a far greater influence throughout Italy and Europe in the fourteenth century than did that of any other painter. Conversely, we might say that this wide diffusion argues very strongly for the assumption that Simone painted one or more Madonnas of Humility, even if he did not originate the composition. It seems clear, however, that Simone's influence and authority could scarcely, in itself, have led to so large and so unusually faithful a series of imitations. Religious and devotional interests, fostered, it would seem, chiefly by the Dominicans, to judge from the churches in which the Madonnas are found, ⁵²

50. It is notable that whereas the Master of Flémalle represented the Madonna seated on the floor in this painting, as well as in his Madonna in Leningrad, neither Jan van Eyck nor Roger van der Weyden (nor the Italian Quattrocento) used this rather homely composition (except perhaps Roger in the instance of the related, but more formal, Madonna known in a number of copies—cf. Friedländer, Altniederländische Malerei, II, p. 135). Similarly, Jan's Madonna in a garden in Antwerp, unlike the Madonna related to the Master of Flémalle in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, is standing. Furthermore, the Virgin in the Master of Flémalle's Mérode Annunciation is seated on the floor (as in numerous Italian Trecento paintings), but the Virgin in Annunciations by Roger (a pupil of the Master of Flémalle) and in Jan's Ghent Annunciation (influenced in many ways by the Mérode Annunciation) is raised to a kneeling position.

also its prevalence in Venice, might induce the hypothesis of a Byzantine origin (cf. Kurth, op. cit.). There are, however, no Humility Madonnas in Byzantine art, and even of the Madonna nursing the Child there is only one example (in the Lichacew collection, Leningrad; cf. Wulff and Alpatoff, Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei, fig. 105), which, moreover, is late in date, and is dependent on a Western prototype. Furthermore, the composition in every other respect is un-Byzantine; I refer particularly to the seminude Child, the Virgin seated on the ground, the sentimental relationship between the figures and the spectator, and the numerous other aspects to be discussed in the latter part of this paper (cf. particularly note 112).

52. A relatively large proportion of the Madonnas are found in Dominican churches, as a number of students (Bortolotti, op. cit; Venturi, Storia dell' Arte Italiana, V, p. 848, and Post, op. cit., II, p. 232) have observed, and one of them was painted by a

Dominican friar (Modena, Gallery, by Fra Paolo da Modena). On the other hand, Georgiana Goddard King (op. cit.) has recently attempted to prove that the Madonna of Humility was created in the circle of the Spiritual Franciscans. Her arguments in support of this thesis, are, as I understand them: 1, Examples of the Madonna of Humility are most frequently found in the centers of the Spiritual Franciscans—the Marches, Sicily, Naples, and, in Spain, Catalonia; 2, within these regions the paintings appear "a little more often in the churches of the Franciscans; " 3, the character of the type is prepared in the Arab and Armenian Gospels of the Infancy, probably familiar to the Spiritual Franciscans from the late thirteenth century on; and the apocalyptic aspect of the type may be referred to the interest of this sect in the Apocalypse. Now Miss King has considered only that version of the Madonna of Humility in which the stars, sun, and moon are present, but even this version cannot be localized in the Marches, Naples, and Sicily. And the assertion that the paintings are found a little more often in Franciscan churches is, for Italy at least, an inversion of the facts. For of the very numerous early Italian examples of the Madonna with the celestial symbols, only two (Palermo Museum and S. Chiara, Naples) can be connected with Franciscan churches, whereas at least nine are, or were, in Dominican churches. This proportion is maintained in those very centers of the Spiritual Franciscans cited by Miss King. In the Marches, for example, there is not one Madonna of Humility traceable to a Franciscan church, whereas three were made for the Dominicans, and the rest for the Augustinians or others. In Naples, there are three Madonnas in S. Domenico, one in the Franciscan S. Chiara. While these facts preclude, I believe, any special relationship between the Madonna of Humility and the Spiritual Franciscans, it seems probable that certain ideas and attitudes presupposed by the Madonna of Humility were first developed by the

must certainly have enhanced the spread of the composition. Furthermore, one or another of Simone's Madonnas must have been, or become, the center of a cult. It may have been painted to celebrate an important occurrence, or it may have, after its creation, exhibited miraculous powers, which were revered throughout Italy.⁵⁸ The whereabouts of this famous Madonna, however, remains yet to be discovered.

* *

The Simonesque type of the Madonna of Humility is related to that group of compositions commonly called devotional images.⁵⁴ The devotional images, which appeared first in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, embody in the most distinctive and novel way those tendencies apparent in all art of this period to establish a direct, sympathetic, and intimate emotional relationship between the spectator and the sacred figures.⁵⁵ The devotional images are

Franciscan movement as a whole. But since a considerable part of the Franciscan outlook was assimilated, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by the rival Dominicans, it is not surprising to find this order fostering an image such as the Madonna of Humility, which evokes, perhaps, Franciscan rather than Dominican associations.

As for the Arab and Armenian Gospels of the Infancy, and the writings of St. Ephrem Syrus, they contain neither any specific points of reference to the Madonna of Humility, nor any general content which is not familiar in much better known contemporary (i.e., thirteenth-fourteenth century) writings, especially the famous Meditationes Vitae Christi. It is notable, too, that whereas the Apocalypse held a central position in the thought of the Spirituals, Joachim de Flore's Expositio, the chief source of this interest, does not identify the Woman in the twelfth chapter with the Virgin Mary, but with the Church.

To the Spiritual Franciscans and to these sources Miss King refers other compositions also, such as Pietro Lorenzetti's Madonna in S. Francesco, Assisi. The "subject" of Pietro's Madonna, which she claims the painter found in Umbria, and which she believes is "explained" by a hymn of St. Ephrem Syrus, appeared already in Pietro's Madonna at Montichiello, his earliest extant work made some time before his Assisi frescoes, and was inspired by the similar emotional and dramatic compositions of Giovanni Pisano (Madonnas in the Duomo, Pisa, and the Arena Chapel).

Leandro de Saralegui, in Museum (Barcelona), VII, pp. 288-9, states that the cult of the Virgin of Humility flourished especially in places, such as the diocese of Valencia, that possessed a relic of the Virgin's milk. This relic, however, while possibly connected with the cult of the Madonna del latte, cannot account for the cult of the Madonna del-l'Umilità.

Beyond the paintings in churches of the monastic orders, some Madonnas were painted for confraternities: the panel in the Palermo Museum for the Disciplinati, and the painting by Giovanni da Bologna in the Venice Academy for the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista (cf. the identification, in the Madonna

of Humility, of the Virgin with the Woman described in the Apocalypse of St. John). Though most of the confraternities worshipped the Virgin in various phases (the most common being "Madonna di Misericordia"), few, if any, were under the advocacy of "Madonna d'Umilità" (cf. G. M. Monti, Le Confraternite Medievali dell'alta e media Italia, Venice, 1927). The Madonna of Humility was occasionally made advocate of ecclesiastical groups of other kinds, as in the instance of the Monastery at Longchamps near Paris, founded in 1255 for the Clarissans by Isabelle of France, sister of St. Louis (cf. G. Duchesne, Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Longchamps, Paris, 1906). Not long after its establishment as "l'abbaye de l'humilité de la Sainte Vierge Marie" it was reproved for its refusal to admit poor girls.

53. One Madonna of Humility, at least, was noted for its miraculous powers. The Modonna to which I refer, painted c. 1370 by a Pistoiese painter (cf. note 17) and now on the high altar of the Madonna dell'Umilità in Pistoia, was originally on the wall of the campanile of the church of S. Maria foris-portae. In 1490, according to Fr. Tolomei, loc. cit. (who borrows from C. Bracciolini, Trattato delle Grazie della Madonna dell' Umilità, Florence, 1580) " fu veduta questa immagine spargere sudore, o vero liquore dalla sua testa." In 1509, following this miracle, a new and more magnificent church for the Madonna was begun by Ventura (cf. G. Vasari, Le Vite, Ed. Milanesi, IV, p. 165-6, and A. Chiappelli, Pistoia, Florence, 1923, pp. 283 ff.), and to this church, called the "Madonna dell'Umilità," Ammanati transferred the painting in 1579. Both the date of the painting and the date of the miracle, however, make it impossible for this Madonna to have stood at the source of the tradition and cult of the Madonna of Humility.

54. For a discussion and definition of the "Andachtsbild" cf. E. Panofsky, in Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer, Leipzig, 1927, p. 264 ff.

55. In the Palermo painting, spectators, members of the confraternity which commissioned the panel, are actually represented, kneeling devoutly as they look up at the image from the predella below, and in a great number of other paintings there are kneeling donors.

distinguished by the limitation of the composition to a few figures who, though outwardly quiet and inactive, are involved in a very emotional—usually pathetic situation, such as that of the Virgin who holds on her lap the dead Christ ("Vesperbild"), or St. John resting his head on Christ's bosom. The very name of our type, the Madonna of Humility, which indicates that the Virgin is represented in a particular mental or emotional state, shows its similarity with a devotional picture such as the "Pietas Christi," called in modern historical literature "Man of Sorrows." If, furthermore, the "Vesperbild" was developed by a transformation of the representative image of the Madonna and Child into a tragic devotional picture of the Madonna with the dead Christ,56 a portrayal of maternal sorrow, then the Madonna of Humility might be regarded as an analogous transformation of the representative Madonna and Child into a devotional picture of maternal tenderness and joy. From the point of view of the late mediaeval interest in the correlation of moments at the beginning and the end of the life of Christ or the Virgin, the two types are complementary (cf. also the introduction of Christ with the symbols of the Passion above the Madonna of Humility in Fig. 12). One of them might stand alone as a symbol of the Sorrows of the Virgin, and the other of her Joys, just as there appears in one of these cycles the Entombment or Lamentation (an historical scene which resembles the "Vesperbild"), and in the other the Nativity, a source, as we shall see, of the Madonna of Humility.

The Madonna of Humility is not distinguished from the representative Madonna and Child by so radical a transformation as the "Vesperbild," but it represents, nevertheless, a remarkable innovation, differing in many respects from the fourteenth century representative Madonna, which even in itself tends, like all Trecento compositions, to become devotional. Let us consider the Madonna of Humility, or at least the Simonesque version of it, first with regard to the suckling Child.

The representation of the Madonna as a nursing mother, the "Madonna del Latte," is not at all new to Italian or European art. 57 It was known from the Early Christian period on, and became quite common in the later thirteenth century in the North and in Italy.58 But the late thirteenth century representations of the "Maria lactans," and even the Italian examples of the early fourteenth century,59 show the Child seated or held erectly, and thus do not achieve the intimacy and tender sentiment of the Madonna of Humility.

The intimacy between the Virgin and Child in the Madonna of Humility effects

^{56.} Cf. Panofsky, op. cit., p. 266.
57. On the history of the "Madonna del Latte" cf. L. Tramoyeres Blasco, La Virgen de la leche en el arte, in Museum, III, 1913, pp. 79 ff.; N. Baldoria, in Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, ser. VI, v. VI, 1888, p. 777.

^{58.} Earlier, in the Romanesque period, the "Maria lactans" was not only much less frequently represented, but also the form of the representation was often quite different. Thus, nursing was often referred to (rather than actually shown) by the extension of one hand of the Child towards the Virgin's breast. (Cf. the Madonna from Anzy-le-Duc, now in the Museum at Paray-le-Monial, and the "Vierge de la rue de

St. Gengoulf," Metz, both twelfth century.) In addition to this type, however, there are Romanesque representations in which the Child draws the breast towards His mouth, or into it. Cf. Dijon Ms. 641, f. 21v (Oursel, La miniature du XIIs. à Citeaux, Dijon, 1926, pl. 33); S. Andrea, Barletta (Porter, Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, p. 252); Liège, Musée de L'Institut Archéologique (Helbig, L'Art Mosan, Brussels, 1906, I, pl. 6).

^{59.} For example, Magdalen Master, Jarves collection, Yale University; Florentine early fourteenth century, Academy, Florence; follower of Duccio, Platt collection, Englewood (reproduced in Van Marle, op. cit., II, fig. 95).

a like intimacy between the figures and the spectator, and this is greatly enhanced by the fact that the Child, though nursing, turns to look at the spectator; and the Virgin, in most examples, does likewise. Now this direct, sympathetic contact between figures and spectator, a kind of relationship which was evolved in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was developed more extensively in Siena than anywhere else in Italy or Europe. Already in the thirteenth century the Sienese showed an interest in this sympathetic address, in the Madonnas, with their wistfully inclined heads and appealing look, and even in historical scenes, which the Sienese tended to transform into devotional pictures also. In this we find, then, further evidence for the attribution of the original Madonna of Humility to a painter of the Sienese school.

The turn of the head and glance of the Infant in the Madonna of Humility out towards the spectator, 61 while His body is turned towards the Virgin and He presses her breast into His mouth, results in a combination of movements which is one of the remarkable developments of early Trecento Italian art. The Infant Christ, like, for example, Simone's Christ on the Way to Calvary, is presented at a moment when He is involved in two different and partly opposed interests and movements. And His movements, turning in divergent directions in tridimensional space, are organically articulated and integrated in such a way that they suggest a sudden, temporary shift of interest and action, responsive to an individual will.

The only example of a similar motif for the Child in all Western art before the fourteenth century is in the earliest known representation of the Madonna, the second century painting of the Vision of Isaiah in the catacomb of Priscilla. In this painting (Fig. 23), dependent upon late antique sources, the Child shows a similar, though more highly developed, contrapposto, and even the gesture of the bent, upraised arm is alike. We are provided, thus, with an example of the affinities between the principles of antique art and those that began to manifest themselves in the Italian Trecento. And it is, therefore, not surprising that the motif should be developed in the Renaissance (Madonna della Casa Litta, Hermitage).

This posture of the Child in the Madonna of Humility is not to be found in any of the extant Madonnas by Simone. But whereas its appearance in Venice or any other Italian school beyond Tuscany in the second quarter of the century would be rather unexpected, it was known in Siena even outside the Madonna of Humility. It appears in the half-length Madonna in S. Francesco, Siena, by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, as well as in later Sienese (or Sienizing) Madonnas. Ambrogio's

^{60.} Cf. the angel leading Peter from prison in the altarpiece of St. Peter, Siena Gallery; as early as c. 1280.

^{61.} In accordance with the two-dimensional tendencies of Trecento art from c. 1360 on, the head of the Child in the later Trecento Madonnas of Humility is turned toward, or fully into, profile.

^{62.} Cf. J. Wilpert, Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms, Freiburg I/B, 1903, p. 187. Wilpert, unlike De Rossi and some other scholars, believes that the Virgin is not actually giving her breast to the Child. All that concerns us, however, is that the Child is reaching for it.

^{63.} Madonna by a follower of Bartolo di Fredi, Perkins collection, Lastra a Signa; Madonna in the tradition of Simone Martini, S. Lorenzo, Naples; standing Madonna, under Sienese influence, in S. Pietro Tuscania; fresco in S. Giovenale, Orvieto, dated 1399, a hitherto unrecognized work of Pietro di Puccio (reproduced in Van Marle, op. cit., V, fig. 73); fresco by m follower of Nardo di Cione in S. Ambrogio, Florence; Madonnas by Barnaba da Modena in S. Matteo, Tortosa, in the Gallery of Pisa, and in Lavagnola. In sculpture, cf., for example, Madonna by Nino Pisano, S. M. della Spina, Pisa.

Madonna (Fig. 24) was painted somewhere around the time of the supposed original Madonna of Humility; it may have been painted even before it, and influenced it. The dynamic motif of the Child, more highly developed in Ambrogio's panel than in the Madonna of Humility, is more deeply Lorenzettian than Simonesque in character.

Though the Madonna of Humility has been described above as a transformed representative Madonna and Child, the process of the development seems to have been, just as in the case of other devotional pictures, an isolation of a group appearing in an historical scene, which was, in this instance, the Nativity. The evolution of the Nativity in the first third of the Trecento in Tuscany is characterized by a gradual enhancement of the Virgin's maternal affection and solicitude. In Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel the reclining Virgin reaches anxiously for the Child. In the Giottesque fresco in the lower church of St. Francis, Assisi (as also in Taddeo Gaddi's fresco in the Baroncelli Chapel, and his panel in Dijon), she holds the Child affectionately before her. And finally, in paintings by Bernardo Daddi (1333) and Taddeo Gaddi (1334; Fig. 25), she holds the nursing Infant at her breast, a representation which may well have been influenced by Northern Nativities (Fig. 27), as well as by the description of the Nativity in Meditationes Vitae Christi, probably written by Giovanni da S. Gimignano between c. 1290 and c. 1310:

"Whan tyme of that blissed byrthe was come / that is to say the Sonday at mydnyt / goddis sone of heuene as he was conceyued in his moder wombe by the holy goost with outen seede of man / so goynge out of that wombe with outen trauaille or sorwe / sodeynely was vppon hey at his moder feete. And anon sche / deuoutly enclynande / with souereyne joye toke hym in hir armes and swetely clippyng and kessynge leyde him in hir barme / and with a fulle pap / as sche was taut of the holy goost / wisshe hym al about with hir swete mylk...." 67

The group of the Virgin nursing the Child in Daddi's and Taddeo Gaddi's paintings of the Nativity shows the very closest resemblance to the composition of the Madonna of Humility. Considered in isolation, it is, indeed, the composition, save

64. Cf., for example, the group of Christ and St. John, isolated from the Last Supper; Christ carrying the Cross, isolated from the Way to Calvary.

65. Triptych in the Bigallo, Florence, which was copied by a pupil of Daddi in the triptych, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, no. 1064. Cf. also the panel by a pupil of Taddeo Gaddi (Catalogue of the Somzte Sale, May 26, 1904, no. 296).

66. This Northern representation of the Virgin nursing the Child in the Nativity appeared already in the late thirteenth century in Bologna (cf. the miniature in a Bolognese bible of the end of the Dugento, reproduced by Warner, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Illuminated Manuscripts in the library of C. W. Dyson Perrins, Oxford, 1920, pl. 53).

67. Quoted from the early fifteenth century English translation (a very free translation in some places) by N. Love, The Mirrour of the blessed life

of Jesus Christ, published by the Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1908, p. 46.

68. The similarity is so great that one might conclude the reverse (i. e., that Daddi's group in the Nativity was inspired by the Madonna of Humility) were it not for the existence of the series of paintings which represent successive stages in the development of the motif within the Nativity, and for the fact that the representation of the Virgin seated on the ground appeared in the Nativity long before it did in the Madonna of Humility.

The single group of the Virgin with the suckling Child could sometimes stand alone for the traditional scene of the Nativity (cf. a leaf from an Italian Missal in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 1483, no. E 371-1911).

69. The appearance of this group in Daddi's Nativity provides one reason (the only one) for the for the absence of the turn of the Child's head. Thus, these Italian Nativities very probably served as a source for the Madonna of Humility, though the formation of the type may have been influenced also by the analogous figure of Eve (the antitype of the Virgin) nursing her Child, after the expulsion from the Garden (Fig. 28).

The fact that the Virgin seated on the ground nursing her Child could, in the early Trecento, be isolated from the Nativity in order to serve alone as an image of the Madonna and Child, presupposes certain general tendencies at this time, and is, as well, a significant index of them. For whereas the Virgin was for many centuries, in Byzantine art at least, seated on the ground (on a mattress) in the historical scene of the Nativity, she is never, until the appearance of our type, placed so lowly in the Madonna and Child. In fact, in the thirteenth century even the Virtue Humility usually sat enthroned like a queen. Whereas Isidore of Seville had observed that the root of "humilitas" was "humus"—"humilis dicitur quasi humo acclinis" an etymology quoted by Thomas Aquinas in his Summa Theologica, the suggestions for graphic representation contained therein were not fully realized in the arts until the Italian Trecento. It remained for the Italians of this period to enact or emotionalize the virtue in the Madonna of Humility, just as Giotto enacted the virtues in the Arena Chapel frescoes, endowing each with appropriate behavior and emotional expressiveness.

The Madonna of Humility is not the only Trecento representation of the Virgin in which she, for the first time, is shown seated on the ground. Instances of a seated, kneeling, or lying Virgin—as well as other sacred figures—are so numerous that they compose the most common innovation in Tuscan late Dugento and early Trecento iconography. She is frequently seated on the ground in the Crucifixion, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Annunciation to moment when she particularly manifested

attribution to him, rather than to Simone, of the original Madonna of Humility. For while no examples of the Nativity by Simone Martini or either of the Lorenzetti have come down to us, those intimations of their compositions that we can gain through later paintings under their influence (such as the Nativity by "Ugolino Lorenzetti" in the Fogg Museum, almost certainly reflecting a Lorenzettian original) reveal nothing comparable to the Nativity by Daddi or the Madonna of Humility. The Sienese Nativities, up to c. 1360 at least, usually show the Virgin seated alongside the crib, in which the Child lies.

70. For examples of this representation, cf.

70. For examples of this representation, cf. Künstle, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg 1/B, 1928, pp. 158-160.

71. Etymologiarum, Lib. X (cf. Migne, Patrol. lat., vol. 82, col. 379).

72. Summa Theologica, II, II, q. 161, a. 1.

73. An early example is a Ducciesque Crucifixion of unknown whereabouts (reproduced in *Dedalo*, XI, p. 267). Cf. also a Daddesque triptych of 1340 in the Fogg Museum and a Crucifixion by a follower of Simone, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. In Crucifixions painted in small initials in manuscripts, where the space was very limited, the Virgin and St. John are sometimes crouching at the ground *line* already in the thirteenth century.

74. Cf. Barna, Collegiata, S. Gimignano; Baronzio, altarpiece of 1345 in Urbino; Riminese panels (the motif is especially common in this region) in the O. Kahn and Parry collections. In these paintings, in accordance with the interest of the Trecento in spatial and narrative continuity, the setting of the Adoration of the Magi has become exactly the same as the Nativity, and the two scenes are sometimes so closely identified that the Virgin can be shown lying on her mattress while the Magi adore the Child (panel by the School of Giotto in the Metropolitan Museum; here the Annunciation to the Shepherds is also shown, and this combination of the various moments in one scene-which occurred already in the Dugento, for example in a panel in the Stoclet collection, Brussels—probably preceded the composition discussed above, which developed from it).

75. Cf. the two panels of the Virgin Annunciate in the Stoclet collection and the Annunciation in Berlin (by the master of the Straus Madonna), all by followers of Simone Martini; and the Annunciation by Bartolommeo Bulgarini in the Johnson collection. The motive appears also in the school of Bernardo Daddi (for example, the triptych in Dijon), and in Traddec Coddilla forces in S. Croppe

Taddeo Gaddi's fresco in S. Croce.



Fig. 25—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Nativity, by Taddeo Gaddi



Fig. 26—Palma, Archaeological Museum: Legend of St. Bernard. Majorcan, XIV Century



Fig. 27—New York, Morgan Library: Nativity in Ms. 729, f. 246v. Amiens, late XIII Century



Fig. 28—New York, Morgan Library: Adam and Eve in Ms. 183, f. 13. Liège, XIII Century



Fig. 29—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: "Les Pauvres" (detail) in Ms. fr. 9608, f. 20.

French, XV Century

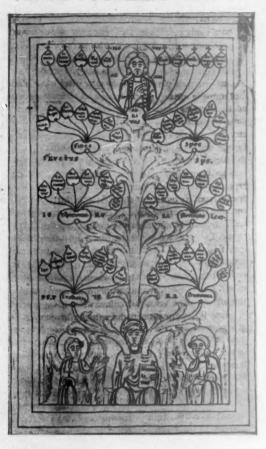


Fig. 30—Rome, Vatican Library: Tree of Virtues in Ms. pal. lat. 565, f. 32. XII Century



Fig. 31—Ferrara, Pinacoteca: Vision of the Virgin, by Simone dei Crocefissi



Fig. 32—New York, Morgan Library: Illustration of Apocalypse xii: 1-4, in Ms. 524, f. 30v. English, XIII Century

her humility. The Romanication, The Romanication, The Romanication, The Coronation. The She lies prostrate on the ground in the Crucifixion. Similarly, other sacred figures are for the first time shown seated on the ground, as St. John in the Crucifixion, or kneeling, as the apostles in the Ascension and the angel Gabriel in the Annunciation, and kneeling or lying, as the grief-stricken Magdalene at the foot of the cross. Most of these motifs originate in Tuscany, many of them in Siena and in the work of Simone Martini.

These new motifs imply a certain development of tridimensional space, particularly with respect to a receding horizontal ground plane; for the body, in contact with the ground, measures a greater space inwards on it than do the feet, especially when the figure is placed oblique to the picture plane. And while each of these postures has a special significance in the context of the historical scene in which it appears, they all are the expression of a new attitude towards sacred history and the transcendental realm. For the sacred figures inhabit a nearer, more "natural" world, and behave in a more natural way. They tend to feel and act like a person in the "real" world, like the spectator, so a development which is presupposed by the appearance of the

76. The reply of the Virgin to the angel Gabriel "ecce ancilla domini" (Luke i: 38) and her hymn to the Lord shortly thereafter (Luke i: 48-52) were often selected by mediaeval writers as examples of humility (cf. Origen, Homilia VIII in Lucam, in Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Jahrhunderte, herausgegeben von der Kirchenvater Commission der preuss. Ak. der Wiss., Berlin, 1930, IX, pp. 58-60, and Thomas Aquinas, loc. cit.). The Annunciation, moreover, is represented in the spandrels above the Palermo and Modena Madonnas, in Ghissi's panel in S. Agostino, Ascoli Piceno, in a Madonna in S. Domenico, Naples, and in Venice no. 17 by Giovanni da Bologna. The angel Gabriel appears at the right of the Virgin in the Cleveland panel.

77. Pacino di Buonaguida, Tree of Life, Academy, Florence; Taddeo Gaddi, Academy, Florence; Bernardo Daddi, Uffizi. The representation of the Virgin kneeling in the Nativity, known to Italian art in the early Trecento, as these examples show, became quite common-in fact the usual form-from about 1400 on, partly because of the great influence of a vision of St. Bridget (of 1370), as H. Cornell, Iconography of the Nativity of Christ, Uppsala, 1924, has shown. Nativities based on St. Bridget's vision may be found earlier than the first example (of c. 1400) cited by Cornell, for two paintings of this type by Niccolò di Tommaso were made around 1375/85 (panel in the Vatican Gallery, which Cornell knew but attributed to a fifteenth century painter, Sano di Pietro; and one in the Johnson collection).

78. The kneeling Virgin in the Annunciation seems to have been introduced by Giotto in the Arena Chapel fresco. There are one or two examples of the Virgin kneeling in the Annunciation in mediaeval art before Giotto, but these (like the pre-Trecento examples of other seated or kneeling figures discussed above) are sporadic, and the motif was not commonly used before the Trecento.

79. Cf. a Bolognese miniature of the end of the Dugento: Choral VII, S. Domenico, Gubbio, f. 77

(reproduced Bollettino d'Arte, 1928-9, p. 54; panel no. 125 in the Museum, Valencia, made c. 1320, and probably Umbrian; Vitale, altarpiece in S. Salvatore, Bologna, probably 1353; Vitale (?), panel in the Stoclet collection, Brussels; Barnaba da Modena, panel in the National Gallery, London; Turone (1360), Museo Civico Verona. The motif would seem, then, to have been developed in Emilia and North Italy, and not to have been popular in Tuscany until the Quattrocento (Fra Angelico, Louvre; and Fra Filippo Lippi, Uffizi). P. Durrieu's claim of a French origin for the kneeling Virgin in the Coronation (Michelino da Besozzo et les relations entre l'art italien et l'art français, in Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1911, pp. 381 ff.) cannot be accepted, inasmuch as the earliest French instances (Brussels Ms. 11060/1 and compositions by the Limburgs and the Boucicaut Master) date from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and are clearly dependent upon Italian prototypes.

80. This motif almost certainly originates in Siena. Cf. Simone Martini, Antwerp; Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Fogg Museum; Barna, Collegiata, San Gimignano. An early example outside Siena is the Crucifixion by the school of Cavallini in S. M. di Donna Regina, Naples.

81. One of the earliest extant examples is the fresco in S. Maria in Vescovio, of the late thirteenth century (reproduced in *Bollettino dⁿ Arte*, 1934, p. 93).

82. Appeared first, it seems, in Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel.

83. Appeared first in the Arena Chapel and in Duccio's Maestà (Annunciation of the death of the Virgin). All the new Italian figure motifs discussed above were, like the Madonna of Humility itself, taken up by Spanish and North European art in the second half of the fourteenth century.

84. Cf. school of Guido da Siena, pinnacle with the Crucifixion, Jarves collection, New Haven; Giotto, fresco in the Arena Chapel.

85. Explicit indications of this change are to be found also in contemporary legends, such as the one

devotional picture discussed above, and which later (second half of the fifteenth century) renders possible the impersonation of a sacred person by a contemporary -Ouattrocento-one.

Their emotions, furthermore, involve and determine the movement of the entire body, not only, as in analogous situations earlier, a part of the body, the head or a hand. And these emotions and attitudes seem to center, in most cases, within a certain range of emotion and behavior, especially in the instance of the Virgin, who manifests an unceremonial forthrightness, simplicity, and even homeliness, values arising among the Tuscan townspeople in the new republican and democratic communes. 66 Similarly, in the Madonna of Humility she sits on the ground nursing her Child "in public," more like a poor woman (Fig. 29)87 or a peasant than the Queen of Heaven.

The representation of the Madonna suckling her Child had a further significance in late mediaeval art and thought. Since it showed that situation wherein the Virgin was most concretely and intimately the Mother of Christ, it set forth that character and power of the Virgin which arose from her motherhood, i. e. her rôle as "Maria Mediatrix," compassionate, maternal intercessor for humanity before the impartial paternal justice of Christ or God the Father.88 Thus, in Chapter 39 of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis (written c. 1324), when Christ intercedes before God the Father by showing His wounds, the Virgin intercedes by exhibiting her breasts—a reference to that moment which is portrayed in the Madonna del Latte and the Madonna dell'Umilità. Furthermore, the representation of the Virgin suckling Christ sets forth not only her right and authority to intervene and protect, but also her inclination to do so. For the act of nursing signified moral qualities, such as benevolence and mercifulness—as in the representation of the virtue Charity in the form of a female figure with a child at her breast (for example, Giovanni Pisano, Pisa, Duomo).89 The Virgin is, in fact, the mother and nurse not only of Christ, but also the "Mater omnium" (the Madonna of Humility in S. Domenico, Naples, is so labeled), and consequently also the "nutrix omnium." 90 Mediaeval writers frequently referred to

concerning Jean Firman, a Franciscan, who wanted to see the Virgin, not as she was in heaven, majestic and splendid, but in the poor and humble condition in which she lived on earth. The Virgin answered his prayer and appeared to him thus (P. Sausseret, Les Apparitions et révélations de la très Sainte Vierge, Paris, 1854, II, p. 33).

86. Francisco Pacheco, representing the aristocratic and classicistic tendency in Spain, c. 1600, condemns, as an example of lack of "decoro," a representation of the Virgin seated on the ground with bare feet (cf. Arte de la pintura, 2nd Ed., Madrid, 1866, Vol. I (libro segundo), p. 249). Similarly, Molanus, De Historia Sacrorum, Louvain, 1570, Bk. II, Chap. XXXI (in Migne, Cursus Theologiae, XXVII) feels called upon to defend, against those contemporaries who considered it vulgar, the representation of the Virgin showing her breast to Christ.

87. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 9608, f. 20. Cf. also other representations of peasant women, such as the one in the Ms. of Aristotle's Economics (Brussels, 11201, f. 359v) by the "atelier" of Jean Bondol, which seems to derive from representations of Adam and Eve after the expulsion from the Garden (Fig. 28).

88. A specific reference to the Virgin as intercessor, particularly at the Last Judgment, is given in the Marchigian Madonna of Humility in Cleveland. To the right of the Virgin is introduced St. Michael, holding the sword and the scales. For a discussion of "Maria Mediatrix" and "Advocata," cf. P. Perdrizet, La Vierge de Miséricorde, Paris, 1908, passim.

Cf. Bonaventura (Opera omnia, Quaracchi ed., 1898, VIII, p. 659): "Est etiam humilitas vas et vehi-

culum ac nutrix caritatis et pietatis."

90. Anselm: "Ad te (virginem) nutricem nostram" (Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum, XXVII, 443a); Jacopo da Voragine: "Maria dat nobis lac pietatis et misericordiae" (Mariale, Venice, 1497, p. 33); Richard of St. Victor: "Beata virgo et peccatoribus reconciliationis et piis gratiae lac fundit" (Migne, Patrol. Lat. 196, col. 475a). Cf. also the following invocation to the Madonna, quoted from the Saltero della Beata Vergine Maria, a vulgarization, by a Sienese of the late fourteenth century, of a Latin psalter attributed to Bonaventura: "Porgine una goccia delle grazie delle tue mamme, e con abundante latte di tua soavità reficia li nostri cuori." (Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie, Vol. 126, 1872, p. 10).

the Virgin as the nurse of the faithful; and in numerous miraculous appearances she gave some of her milk (often three drops, symbolizing the Trinity) to various persons, among them St. Bernard, who in a Majorcan panel of the fourteenth century is shown kneeling before the Virgin (a statue of the Madonna del Latte "come to life," according to the legend) and drinking her milk (Fig. 26).91

If the representation of the Virgin nursing the Child signifies her charity, then her lowly posture expresses her solicitude for all souls, even the sinful, in the love of whom she manifested her deepest humility. She was, indeed, the humblest of beings, as was declared by writers of especially this period, such as Jacopone da Todi ("l'umilità profonda che nel tuo cor abonda"), Petrarch ("Vergine umana e nemico d'orgoglio"), and Giovanni da San Gimignano, who, in the description of that very scene which inspired the Madonna of Humility, wrote: "Potuistis etiam attendere in utroque profundissimam humilitatem in hac ipsa Nativitate."

Now humility was an essential Christian virtue. Although, in formal classifications of the virtues, it did not receive a place among the three theological and four cardinal virtues, being usually attached to temperance, it was, on the other hand, believed to be the primary condition for the attainment of the other virtues, the "spiritualis aedificii fundamentum" as Thomas Aquinas says. And in a tree of virtues which appears in moral treatises from the twelfth century on, humility was placed at the bottom, as the "radix virtutum" (Fig. 30). Now just as humility is the root from which the tree of virtues grows and by which it is nourished and its growth conditioned, so is the Virgin the condition of the Incarnation of Christ, the "radix sancta," as she is sometimes called, and as she appears in a painting by Simone dei Crocefissi in the gallery at Ferrara (Fig. 31). And these two conceptions, of the Virgin as the "radix sancta" and of humility as the "radix virtutum," are not only analogous, but also interdependent, for Mary could become the Mother of Christ just because of her humility.

91. Cf., for similar representations, Brit. Mus. Egerton Ms. 2781, f. 24v (English (?), middle of the fourteenth century), and the late fifteenth century Marchigian painting in the Palazzo Comunale, Chieti, where streams of milk are shown passing from the Virgin's breasts into the mouths of souls in Purgatory. For mediaeval legends of similar miracles cf. Mussafia, Studien zu den Mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden, in Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, philosoph.-hist. Klasse, Vol. 115, pp. 6, 16, 18, 31, 32, 37, 51, 77, 91, Vol. 119, pp. 5, 26, Vol. 139, pp. 9, 12. Illuminating is the legend of the blessed Paula of Florence, who lived in a cell at Camalduli. Her greatest happiness lay in the contemplation of an image of the Virgin suckling the Child. As recompense for her devoutness, the Virgin with the nursing Child appeared to her one day (in 1368?) and the Infant allowed a few drops of milk to fall upon Paula's lips (Sausseret, op. cit., II, p. 46). The image before which Paula prayed may well have been a Madonna of Humility. In this connection we should recall the miraculous image of the Madonna in Pistoia (cf. note 53), which was believed to have poured forth "sudore, o vero liquore dalla sua santa testa," an occurrence which would seem to be a displacement and transformation, in the interest of propriety, of the issuance of milk from the Virgin's breast; the latter, indeed, was said to have occurred in a number of instances, notably the famous Madonna in Saint-Vorle de Chatillon-sur-Seine (Sausseret, op. cit., I, p. 202).

92. "Hic ostendit Domina Nostra suam veram humilitatem, quia amat peccatores eisque Misericordissima est." Sermon of St. Humility († 1310) in Acta Sanctorum, May, V, p. 217.

93. Jacopone da Todi, Lauda II, 16. Cf. also H. v. d. Gabelentz, Die kirchliche Kunst im italienischen Mittelalter, Strasbourg, 1507, p. 176.

94. Canzone XXIX, 118.

95. Meditationes vitae Christi, in Opera Omnia S. Bonaventurae, Paris, 1871, XII, p. 519.

96. Op. cit., II, II, Q. 161, A. V.

97. Cf. the treatise (called to my attention by Professor Erwin Panofsky) De fructibus carnis et spiritus, apud Migne, Patrol. lat., 176, col. 998 (attributed to Hugh of St. Victor): "De tribus virtutibus theologicis et quatuor cardinalibus ex humilitate nascentibus."

98. Sermon of St. Humility in Acta Sanctorum, May, V, p. 216.

99. Luke i: 48-52. St. Augustine: "Facta est certe humilitas Mariae scala coelestis per quam descendit Deus ad terras" (Migne, op. cit., 39, col. 2133). Also St. Bernard, in Migne, op. cit., 183, col. 61-2, and St. Bridget, Revelationes (ed. Antwerp, 1626, II, p. 389).

Furthermore, in accordance with a principle of polarity in Christian thought, humility implied sublimity: "quanto humilior, tanto sublimior" (Richard of St. Victor); 100 "Vergine santa.... che per vera ed altissima umiltate salisti al ciel..." (Petrarch); 101 "Vergine madre, figlia del tuo figlio, umile e alta più che creatura" (Dante, Paradiso, XXXIII). 102 This "polar thinking" determined one of the most remarkable aspects of the Madonna of Humility, the almost paradoxical combination of the tender, humble image of the mother nursing her Child with the awesome celestial Woman described in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse: "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars...." The Virgin is "Nostra domina de humilitate" as well as "Regina coeli," and thus "Regina humilitatis." 103

All these ideas set forth in the Trecento image of the Madonna of Humility, and even the specific symbols by which they are expressed, were already brought together into a kind of constellation in thirteenth century thought. Bonaventura, in his first sermon on the Annunciation, in which he discusses the mystery of the Incarnation and the twelve metaphors by which it may be apprehended, says, in conclusion: "Notandum igitur, quod incarnationis mysterium sic est duodecim metaphoris designatum, quae a terra humilitatis 104 incipiunt et in sole sapientiae divinae sistunt.... Unde, quia hae duodecim metaphorae beatam Virginem et eius Prolem insinuant, convenienter de ipsa dicitur illud apocalypsis: Mulier amicta sole, scilicet ornata Divinitatis claritate; 105 lunam, temporalium mutabilitatem, habens sub pedibus; 106 et in capite habens coronam duodecim stellarum 107 propter dictum mysterium duodecim metaphoris designatum...." 108

100. Apud Migne, op. cit., 196, col. 1330. Also "virtutum fundamentum est humilitas, quia omnis qui se humiliat exaltabitur" (ap. Migne, CLXXVI, col. 998). Cf. also Luke i: 58 "deposuit (Deus) potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles; " a graphic phrase which parallels closely the process of formation of the Madonna of Humility, whereby the Virgin is deposed from her throne, and then exalted.

101. Petrarch, Canzone, XXIX, 40-43.

Thus humility was sometimes represented in the fifteenth century as a figure with bowed head but with, at the same time, wings attached to the shoulders, breast, and legs (German Ms. of the fifteenth century, Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, Cod. 1404, f. 11v, cf. F. Saxl, in Festschrift für Julius Schlosser, Vienna, 1927, p. 118; and a second figure of this type, also in an early fifteenth century German Ms.-Rome, Vat. pal. lat. 1726, f. 48v-where the figure bears a scroll on which is inscribed "Qui se humiliat exaltabitur"). And in this connection we should recall that the mediaeval symbol of Humility was often a dove, i. e. a bird which appeared "humbly" in the streets and at the same time could fly high in the sky. Cf. St. Bernard, in Migne, op. cit., 183, col. 48, and Psalm lxviii: 13.

103. Acta Sanctorum, loc. cit.
104. The earth is a common mediaeval symbol of the Virgin's humility (cf. also Albertus Magnus, De Laudibus B. Mariae, Liber Octavus, c. I). But only in the Trecento (in accordance with the historical situation discussed above) could the relationship between the earth and the Virgin be expressed in a naturalistic way; however, the naturalistic form (of the earth) and the naturalistic relationship (the Virgin sitting on the earth) still retain a symbolic significance.

The sun, which appears less frequently in the Madonna of Humility than the other symbols, is represented either by a mandorla, or by rays projecting from the Virgin's body, or by a gilt disc, either on the Virgin's drapery (a specialty of the Venetian examples) or beside her (Marchigian panel, Cleveland).

106. A standing Madonna by Giovanni del Biondo in the Vatican Gallery shows the moon at the feet of the Virgin, and below the moon, a decomposed

human corpse.

A connection between the Virgin, as Madonna of Humility, and the moon is suggested by the following passage from Jacopo da Voragine (Mariale, Venice, 1497, p. 35v): "Luna dicitur Maria propter quattuor causas. Primo propter humilitatem suam. Sicut enim luna omnibus planetis est inferior, sic et Maria fuit omnibus sanctis humilior....

107. The twelve stars were sometimes held to prefigure the twelve apostles (cf., for example, Speculum Humanae Salvationis, chap. 36, and Albertus Magnus, Opera Omnia, Paris, 1899, Vol. 38, p. 653). In each of the twelve stars in the Marchigian panel in the Museum at Cleveland is a small bust of an apostle. In the Speculum (chap. 36), the Apocalyptic Woman prefigures the Coronation of the Virgin; and in the Madonna of Humility two angels are sometimes shown lowering a crown onto the Virgin's head.

108. Bonaventura, Opera Omnia (Quaracchi ed.), IX, p. 659. Post (op. cit., II, p. 232) has raised the question of why the Madonna of Humility with the stars, sun, and moon, if it contains a reference to

Although Bonaventura and other mediaeval writers sometimes identified the Woman of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse with the Virgin Mary 100 (instead of the usual Ecclesia), in the graphic arts the two were very seldom identified until the fourteenth century, 110 and the first large group of monuments which exhibits this identification is the Madonna of Humility.¹¹¹ And it is interesting to observe that the identification occurred when there existed between the two a similarity not only of content, but also of form. For the woman in a number of English and French Apocalypses of the thirteenth century (Fig. 32) 112 is shown seated with one leg raised higher than the

the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, should be found most frequently in Dominican churches, since the Dominicans were opposed to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. It seems to me that there is no evidence of a reference to the Immaculate Conception, either in the Madonna of Humility itself, or in inscriptions on the panels, and certainly not in the distribution of the type, nor in thirteenth and fourteenth century writings which identify the Woman of the Apocalypse with the Virgin (cf. for example, Bonaventura in the passage quoted above). Furthermore, the earliest Italian Immaculata pictures, of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (for example, Crivelli, National Gallery; Signorelli, Cortona; Piero di Cosimo, Uffizi), do not show any resemblance to the Madonna of Humility, which would scarcely have been the case if the Humility Madonna, an earlier type, symbolized the Immaculate Conception. Indeed, it seems, on the other hand, just possible that the Madonna of Humility was favored by the Dominicans as an emblematic argument against the idea of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, for the image, by identifying the Virgin with the Woman of the Apocalypse (who conceives a child apparently immaculately) emphasizes the Immaculate Conception of Christ, and by bowing her head and seating her on the ground, expresses her lowliness and humility. Now one of the chief objections of the Dominicans (Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and their followers) to the idea of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin was that it impaired the dignity and superiority of Christ (cf. B. Binnewesel, Die Stellung der Theologen des Dominikanerordens zur Frage nach der unbefleckten Empfängnis Marias bis zum Konzil von Basel, Kallmünz, 1934, and P. Doncoeur, L'immaculée conception aux XII—XIV siècles, in Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, VIII, pp. 266 ff., and IX, pp. 278 ff.). For if the Virgin was conceived immaculately, then she was free from original sin, and could not be, or did not need to be, saved by Christ. Therefore her conception must have involved sin (in the Madonna of Humility, she is close to the earth), but she was thereafter sanctified because of her virtuousness and because she conceived Christ (Whom she suckles in the Madonna of Humility).

Duns Scotus, and other Franciscans replied to this argument, and the controversy between the Franciscans and Dominicans over the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin was fully precipitated by the early fourteenth century, so that it is possible that the Madonna of Humility embodied the polemic significance suggested above.

109. Cf. Beissel, Geschichte der Verehrung Maria in Deutschland, pp. 260, 347, and A. Salzer, Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der Deutschen Literatur und Lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters, Linz, 1893, pp. 481 ff. The sun, moon, and stars were brought into connection with the Virgin not only directly by way of the Apocalyptic Woman, but also in innumerable poetic similes, some of them probably influenced by the Apocalypse (See Salzer, op. cit., pp. 377, 391, 399). Especially relevant, because they are Italian and approximately contemporary with the creation of the Madonna of Humility, are the phrases in the "laudarii" (cf., for example, Il Laudario dei Battuti di Modena, ed. by G. Bertoni in Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Beiheft XX, 1909) and the apostrophe of Petrarch, Simone's friend, to the Virgin:

"Vergine bella, che di sol vestita, Coronata di stelle, al sommo sole...."

(Canzone XXIX, 1-3).

110. Before the fourteenth century, the Woman, together with the dragon who attacks her, sometimes appeared as an isolated Apocalypse scene (cf. the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrade von Landsperg, and the twelfth century Liber Matutinalis of Konrad von Scheyern, reproduced in Dehio, Geschichte der deut-

schen Kunst, I, fig. 344).

III. Outside the Madonna of Humility, the identification of the Virgin with the Woman of the Apocalypse is made in a few instances, such as the thirteenth century glass window in St. Elizabeth, Marburg (Beissel, op. cit., p. 349), fourteenth century German sculptures in the church of the Cistercians, Doberan, and in the Erfurt Museum (Pinder, Deutsche Plastik, I, p. 106), and a panel by Giovanni del Biondo in the Vatican Gallery. All of these represent the standing Virgin.

112. Cf. the following Mss. of the Apocalypse: Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 403; Cambridge, Trinity College R. 16.2; Oxford, Bodl. Douce 180; Oxford, Bodl. Auct. d. 4,17; Cambrai, no. 422; Dyson Perrins col-

lection no. 10.

King (op. cit.), who favors a Spanish origin of the Madonna of Humility, refers to a Spanish Beatus Ms. (Morgan Library, from las Huelgas as a possible source of the type. This relationship seems, however, very improbable, because whereas the Morgan Ms. (and other examples of the Beatus, such as the tenth century Ms. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia no. 33) does show the Woman seated on the ground, she is represented in this way only after the angel has taken her child and she has fled to the wilderness, and she is not accompanied by the stars, sun, and moon. The Woman is represented again in the same miniature, this time with the celestial symbols, but other, like the Virgin in the Madonna of Humility and in the Nativities discussed above.

It must be observed, however, that no Sienese, and only one Florentine Madonna of Humility 118 shows the attributes of the Apocalyptic Woman. 114 It is true that the stars and moon, and very often the sun, are not represented in the Madonnas of other Italian schools, but for some reason, possibly in part just the "unnatural" character of the symbols, Tuscany alone seems to have consistently avoided identification of the Virgin with the Woman of the Apocalypse. The absence of the symbols in one of the very earliest Madonnas—the Simonesque painting in Berlin—suggests the possibility that the composition of the Madonna seated on the ground nursing the Child was created first, and the identification with the Apocalyptic Woman was made a little later—outside Siena and Tuscany. On the other hand, the very early Madonnas in Palermo (1346), and in S. Domenico, Naples (shortly after 1345), outside Siena and widely separated, but wholly Simonesque, show the stars and the moon, so that it seems likely that the assumed Madonna of Humility by Simone Martini, wherever it was made, represented the fully developed type.

The Simonesque type of the Madonna of Humility illuminates in a remarkable way the historical character of early Trecento Italian art, its progressive qualities and its relationship with preceding arts. For whereas the two figures which are combined in the Madonna of Humility, the seated Woman of the Apocalypse and the Virgin nursing the Child in the Nativity, existed in the North in the thirteenth century, the fusion of the two was made in Italy in the fourteenth century. And the Madonna of Humility, based upon these two North European figures, exhibits at the same time one form—the spatial contrapposto of the Child—which is not mediaeval 115 but which shows resemblances with antique art. On the other hand, the representation, in a comparatively formal image, of a sacred person such as the Virgin seated humbly on the ground, is foreign to the Middle Ages and without analogy in antiquity; 116 it is new, and in a sense "modern."

then she is *standing* (as usual in the Spanish Beatus Mss., cf. Madrid Academia no. 33, Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1366; in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek theol. lat. 561 she is seated on a kind of throne), so that neither figure combines all the elements which appear in the English and French Apocalyses mentioned above.

The Byzantine composition of the Apocalyptic Woman, as reflected in the Hortus Deliciarum (the miniature illustrating the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse contains Greek inscriptions) and in later Russian miniatures (cf. G. Buslaev, Collection of Miniatures from Illuminated Apocalypses, taken from Russian Mss. of the XVI-XIX Centuries (Russian) St. Petersburg, 1884, pls. 67, 85, 103, 146, 156) shows a standing woman. This is additional argument against the assumption of a Byzantine origin of the Madonna of Humility.

I is the one Trecento Florentine Madonna that I know which represents the twelve stars is the Orcagnesque panel in the collection of Langton

Douglas. The Madonna of Humility in the Museo di S. Croce and the one by Fra Angelico in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, also show a number of stars in the Virgin's halo. Furthermore, the standing Virgin, labeled "Regina Coeli," by a follower of the Cioni in the Museo Bandini, Fiesole, shows the moon, and the standing Madonna by Giovanni del Biondo in the Vatican both the moon and the stars.

114. This applies, at least, to the more important Madonnas painted in these centers, all of which have been discussed above. There must be many provincial images by poor local painters which I do not know, and which might show the celestial symbols.

115. Even the Northern fifteenth century paintings of the Madonna of Humility (Master of Flémalle) or the Maria Lactans (Jan van Eyck, Roger van der Weyden) do not attempt to take over this contrapposto.

116. Even the concept "humilitas" did not, in Greco-Roman antiquity, signify a virtue; it meant lowliness, baseness, or meanness.

THE MADONNA OF HUMILITY ERRATA AND ADDENDA

Note 51. The second sentence should read: There are, however, no Madonnas of Humility in Byzantine art, and even of the Maria lactans there are only a very few examples in the Christian East before the fifteenth century. Several of these, furthermore, seem to be dependent upon Western proto-types.

Page 447. Line 4. Fig. 20 should be Fig. 21.

Page 447. Last sentence. This new composition was probably influenced by the legend of the Virgin in the sun revealed to Augustus by the sybil. Before the appearance of the Madonna of Humility, however, the Virgin in representations of this legend was usually shown standing, or in half-length.

Page 448. Line 14. An innovation of another char-

acter was made in the early Quattrocento. In a Madonna of Humility in the Mellon Collection (a damaged panel painted originally either by Masaccio or upon his design), and also in several Madonnas by Donatello and his school (cf. Donatello, Klassiker der Kunst, pp. 91-93), and in Domenico di Bartolo's Madonna of 1433, the Virgin is represented with bare feet. The bare feet denote the Virgin's poverty, and also her virtuousness, since poverty and virtue were usually identified in medieval, and especially Franciscan, thought.

Page 456. Line 12. No inference that this etymology originated with Isidore of Seville is intended.

Fig. 17. Ms. 80 should be Ms. 88.

The state of the control of the state of the . spalment till tad interest of the latest time of

TWO TRIPTYCHS AND A CRUCIFIX IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY 1

By PARKER LESLEY

HE following study² concerns two triptychs and a cross in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library. The first triptych, no. 0215 (Figs. 1 and 2), is of silver, gilded and enameled. In the middle compartment it presents a Nativity, with St. Joseph and St. John the Baptist, together with an Annunciation to the Shepherds. John the Baptist carries a scroll inscribed gloria in excelsis deo, while the angel in the Annunciation to the Shepherds descends with a scroll on which is written ave animae (?). To the left and right, in the inside niches of the wings, are St. Peter and St. Paul. In the exterior niches are Gabriel and the Virgin, with the dove descending from above. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the triptych's history, aside from the fact that it was given to the museum by Pius IX (died 1878). Its unusual shape, which gives a Baroque outline to the open case, seems to be fortuitous, deriving from the composition within.

It will be noticed at first glance that the Nativity displays an exceptional feature: the Virgin is crowned.⁵ Also, although in a reclining position, her legs are spread wide apart in an awkward posture little in keeping with the work's good craftsmanship. The left knee flexes slightly, but her position is quite contrary to the ordinary crosslegged attitude, indicating quiet and contemplation, prescribed for this figure. Her position, if we are supposed to imagine her reclining on the couch and rolling over toward the midwives below in the act of presenting the Child to them, is natural enough. But then the right leg is extended outward as if held in the air, constituting

1. Studies in the Art of the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library, edited by C. R. Morey and E. Baldwin Smith, No. XXII.
2. The author wishes to extend his thanks to

Dr. Erwin Panofsky, of the Institute for Advanced Study, who first suggested the iconographic solution to the silver triptych, and Mrs. Grace B. Hollis, Reader of the Index of Christian Art, for their

invaluable guidance.

3. Dimensions: height, 8.9; width (open), 14.2, (closed, including hinge), 7.3; thickness, 1.3. Condition: intact. Left wing slightly bent. Fingers of Gabriel's right hand in Annunciation broken off. Technique: hinge of tongue-and-eye type. Fastened when closed by gilded rod, through tongue and eyes. Silver frame, with cross-hatched gilt panels on exterior of wings. Central compartment backed within with blue-black enamel on silver, incised in a quatrefoil pattern. Against this the details of the Nativity are riveted, being all cast separately in the round. Wings when open show each a niche for statuette and the silver back of the niche on front which shows when closed a niche for statuette. Landscape

in Nativity is silver with shiny enameled surface (very thin). Tree has greenish enamel in foliage. Sheep, two goats, and dog to right are in plain silver, as are also the crib and tub; all other figures are gilded, including the ox, ass, and dog to left. Figures in niches gilded, dove in Annunciation in plain silver. Frames of inside niches gilded. Outside niches have the same blue-black enamel (tending to iridescence) that is found in the background of the

4. This figure is by a different hand. It may have been substituted for an earlier figure when the cross was added, if the cross be taken as later (see below).

5. Mr. Frederick Hartt has pointed out to me a crowned Virgin of the Nativity in the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, illustrated by a manuscript in the Munich Staatsbibliothek, clm 146 (cf. Lutz and Perdrizet, Speculum Humanae Salvationis, Mülhausen, 1907, II, pl. 15). In this case, however, the crown is demanded by the text; it is given to the Virgin to indicate her virginity after the birth of Christ (Cf. Lutz and Perdrizet, op. cit., I, p. 18, line 19 ff.). a marked departure from the formula prevalent in Nativities of the Italo-Byzantine type, to which our composition obviously belongs.⁶ The motif of the Virgin handing down the Child to the midwives is not unique, but is nevertheless a rare and tardy feature in the development of iconography.⁷ But in no case, save in the exception cited, is she crowned in the Nativity.

Dealing with this curious figure apart from the others, we must seek elsewhere than in Nativities for an explanation.

The Virgin of Humility, seated upon the ground suckling her Child, with the moon under her feet and crowned with stars, first appears in Italian art, according to Meiss,⁸ in the school of Siena, probably in Simone Martini, although the *Urbild* has disappeared. The type results from the conflation of two motifs: the Northern Virgin who lies suckling the Child⁹ and the Apocalyptic Woman.¹⁰ This conflation is due in large part to the theological concepts of the time,¹¹ in which the most humble and the most exalted attributes of the Virgin are emphasized and contrasted, thus expressing her all-embracing significance in a series of paradoxes. The introduction of the Virgin kneeling on the ground in the Italian Nativities of the fourteenth century is a familiar example of the humanizing trend in late Gothic iconography, and the contrasting effect of the sublime attributes added to such humble portrayals is well illustrated in Trecento painting of Emilia and the Marches. The artists, reluctant to deprive the Virgin completely of her dignity, gave to the seated and nursing mother the attributes of the Apocalyptic Woman, in order to bring out her opposite character as regina coeli.

As to the specific iconography of the Apocalyptic Woman, her origin has been the subject of much dispute, and cannot be summarized at length here. 12 Two French

6. Cf. Niccolò Pisano's pulpit in the Baptistery at Pisa (Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana, IV, 1906, fig. 4), the pulpit in Siena Cathedral (ibid., IV, fig. 5), Fra Guglielmo's pulpit in S. Giovanni Fuoricivitas, Pistoia (ibid., IV, fig. 38), and Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in S. Andrea, Pistoia (Venturi, Giovanni Pisano, Paris, 1928, pl. 82).

7. It occurs in a triptych of Giusto da Padova, of 1367, in the National Gallery, London (Van Marle, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting, IV, 1924, fig. 82), and in a Nativity ascribed to the Salzburg school in the Kremsmünster Stiftsgalerie (Pächt, Oesterreichische Tafelmalerei der Gotik, Augsburg, 1929, pl. 27).

8. Dr. Millard Meiss, of Columbia University, was kind enough to give me material on this subject, unpublished at the time of writing. See his article in this number of the Art Bulletin, and the examples of the Madonna of Humility there reproduced.

of the Madonna of Humility there reproduced.
9. As in the Hours of Yolande de Soissons,
M. 729, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

10. Revelation xii, 1: "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars...;" and xii, 5: ".... and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne."

II. Cf. Dante, Paradiso, XXXIII, 1-6:

"Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio

Umile ed alta più che creatura, Termine fisso d'eterno consiglio, Tu sei colei che l'umana natura Nobilitasti sì che il suo Fattore Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura."

Georgiana Goddard King, in a recent excellent article (The Virgin of Humility, in Art Bulletin, XVII, 1935, pp. 474-491) has demonstrated the connection of the Franciscan Spirituals of the Marches of Ancona with the Armenian court of Leo III. In 1289 Raimundo Gaufredi sent the three Brothers, Angelo of Clareno, Liberato of Macerata, and Tommaso of Tolentino, to Armenia, where they became acquainted with the poetical writings of St. Ephrem. These writings provide numerous sources for the nursing Virgin, the "Madonna of the Milk," and the Virgin as the Woman of the Apocalypse. When Angelo of Clareno returned to Italy in the first decade of the Trecento, his order, formerly persecuted, was allowed freedom by Celestine V, and the Franciscan Spirituals, steeped in the Eastern source of the Virgin of Humility, spread through the Marches of Ancona, Sicily, Southern Italy, Siena, and the cities of Emilia.

12. Franz Boll, in his Aus der Offenbarung Johannes, in Στοιχεΐα, I, Berlin, 1914, discusses this problem very thoroughly.



Fig. 1-Rome, Museo Cristiano: Silver Triptych, open



Fig. 2—Rome, Museo Cristiano: Silver Triptych, closed



Fig. 3—Bologna, S. Domenico: Reliquary of St. Thomas (detail), by Jacopo Roseto

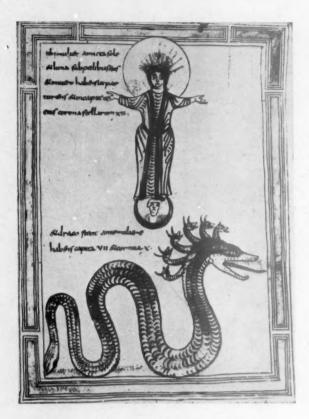


Fig. 4—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Nouv. acq. lat. 1132. Apocalyptic Woman



Fig. 5—Reconstruction of the Source of the Virgin in Fig. 1



Fig. 6—Angers, Cathedral: Tapestry, Apocalyptic Woman

manuscripts of the ninth or tenth century, ¹⁸ one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 4), ¹⁴ the other in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Valenciennes, ¹⁵ show the early form of the Woman: she is in orant posture, with twelve rays ending in stars emanating from the back of her head, standing on the crescent moon, which encloses the bust of her Child. Neuss ¹⁶ illustrates examples of Spanish manuscrips ¹⁷ showing the introduction of an angel escorting the Woman's Child to the heavenly throne.

In these highly dramatic renderings the emphasis is all on the dragon and the heavenly combat. Different from both these types is that in which the Woman is seated in a Byzantinesque posture, while the Child is climbing out of her lap into the arms of a descending angel.¹⁸ As time progresses the motif of combat between Woman and dragon gives way to an emphasis on the maternal characteristics of the Woman, and the scene of the Child's translation to heaven assumes the character of a presentation on her part rather than a rescue. Thus, the Trinity College Apocalypse, 19 the famous English work of c. 1250, shows the Woman reclining on a couch, and, though still possessing her iconographic attributes, handing over the Child to a kneeling angel, while in the Douce Apocalypse, 20 c. 1270, the Woman presents the Child to an angel who descends through the arcus coeli. Within the period of the Vatican triptych, examples are furnished by the Apocalypse altarpiece of Bertram von Minden, 21 of 1379, and the Tapestry of Angers (Fig. 6).22 In the former work the Child has just left the Woman's arms, and is floating to the arms of an angel, while in the latter she is seated and crowned, and the Child is actually being taken from her arms by a descending angel.

To return to the Virgin of the triptych. Unexplained are: the crown, unheard of in a Nativity save where there is definite textual motivation, and the awkward position of the legs.

By turning the triptych on its left side it is seen that in reality the figure is not that of the orthodox Virgin of the Nativity, but the Apocalyptic Woman handing her Child to an angel, of course omitted (Fig. 5). The relation of the Apocalyptic Woman to the Virgin of Humility in North Italy reveals the process by which our iconographic type was formed. Prompted by the custom of representing the Virgin in her most lowly attitudes as also the Queen of Heaven, and doubtless having in mind the relatively new motif of the Virgin on her pallet handing down the newborn Child

^{13.} Cf. H. Omont, Manuscrits illustrés de l'Apocalypse aux IXe et Xe siècles, in Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, VI (1922), pp. 60 ff. and pl. XXIII.

^{14.} Nouv. acq. lat. 1132.

^{15.} No. 99.

^{16.} Neuss, Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustrationen, Münster i/W., 1931.

^{17. (1)} Beatus from Valcavado, Biblioteca Santa Cruz, Valladolid, A. D. 970 (*ibid.*, I, pp. 16 ff., and II, fig. 157); (2) Beatus from Saint Sever, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Lat. 8878, eleventh century (*ibid.*, I, pp. 34 ff., and II. fig. 159); (3) Beatus in the Cathedral Library, Burgo de Osma, A. D. 1068 (*ibid.*, I, pp. 37 ff., and II, fig. 156);

⁽⁴⁾ Ms. in the Archivo Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, A. D. 1189 (ibid., I. pp. 47 ff., and II. fig. 158).

A. D. 1189 (ibid., I, pp. 47 ff., and II, fig. 158).

18. Mérimée, Notice sur les peintures de l'église de Saint-Savin, Paris, 1845, pl. III.

^{19.} James, The Trinity College Apocalypse, Roxburghe Club, London, 1909, pl. XIII.

^{20.} James, The Apocalypse in Latin and French (Bodleian Ms. Douce 180), Roxburghe Club, London, 1922, pl. XLIII.

^{21.} Cf. Habicht, Maria, Oldenburg i/O., 1926, fig. 40.

^{22.} Ibid., fig. 36.

^{23.} In the composite photograph, made for me by Mr. J. T. Morey, the angel of the Tapestry of Angers has been used, though in reverse, to suit the orientation of the Woman.

to be bathed, the silversmith copied, probably from a manuscript, the authentic Apocalyptic Woman for his Nativity, and adapted his other figures accordingly. It will be noticed also that the "Virgin" is not looking toward the midwives, but at the feet of John the Baptist, where the angel would be if the figure were correctly turned.

The midwife group stems directly from the Pisano tradition,24 while the other figures, because of their squat proportions and knobbed hair, which gives the effect of tonsure, seem to predicate a Northern influence. The figure of Peter from the south portal of the Sebalduskirche in Nuremberg 25 delineates to a certain extent the broad-faced, heavy-bearded type of the triptych. The proportions are admittedly more slender and refined, but the hair on the crown of the head is telling in that it rolls down over the forehead in thickly clustered bangs, thus producing the tonsure effect of the triptych figure. Another Peter, from the east choir of this same church, 26 also has distinct resemblances to the silver figure in the heavy fold across the abdomen and the folding of the drapery back across itself, forming a cascade to the feet. A figure of Peter in the choir of the Jakobskirche, Nuremberg, 27 c. 1360, also has the square-built head with heavy locks over the brows, and short, thick beard. The last work in Nuremberg which may bear on the clarification of the figures at hand is the Deokarus shrine in St. Lorenz, 28 of 1406. In the figures of Peter and Paul, although of later date, the proportions and technique most nearly approximate those of the same saints in the triptych. In the St. Peter the square head, thick locks, and almost complete lack of neck are nearly identical.

Further parallels are afforded by the figures on the altar of the Minoritenkloster in Hannover. Dated by Habicht 29 shortly before 1400, the apostle figures, though more heavily draped, are nearly the same in proportion and have the characteristic

To sum up: the squat proportions and realism of feature, which are not found in the more classically minded sculpture of Italy during this period, may be attributed to a strong transalpine influence coming into Italy through the Northern trade routes, particularly from Nuremberg and the cities of the Rhine valley.

An attempt at stylistic analysis of such small objects is a hazardous undertaking. The figures on the knops of the two reliquaries in S. Domenico, Bologna (Figs. 3 and 7), one dedicated to S. Domenico, the other to St. Thomas, works of Jacopo Roseto, done in 1383, come very close to those of the Vatican triptych. Here too, the peculiar scroll crockets, apparently a premature Baroque mannerism, appear (Fig. 7). It will be noticed that the triptych figures all possess a short broken fold at the feet. This seems to be typical of the miniature painting of Niccolò da Bologna, particularly as exemplified in the Libro dei Creditori del Monte of 1395.30 The long columnar fold in the dress of the Virgin in the Annunciation may also be paralleled in the work

^{24.} Cf. note 6.

^{25.} Martin, Die Nürnberger Steinplastik im XIV. Jahrhundert, Berlin, 1929, fig. 68.

^{26.} Ibid., fig. 96.

^{27.} Ibid., fig. 139.
28. Pinder, Die deutsche Plastik vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance (Handbuch

der Kunstwissenschaft), Wildpark-Potsdam, 1924, I, fig. 189.

^{29.} Habicht, Die mittelalterliche Plastik Hildesheims, Strasbourg, 1919, p. 129 and pl. XXIII.

^{30.} Cf. Malaguzzi-Valeri, La collezione delle miniature nell'archivio di stato di Bologna, Rome, 1894, pl. II.



Fig. 7—Bologna, S. Domenico: Reliquary of S. Domenico (detail), by Jacopo Roseto



Fig. 8—Rome, Museo Cristiano: Unfinished Ivory Relief (detail)



Fig. 9—Rome, Museo Cristiano:
Crucifix



Fig. 10—Padua, S. Antonio: Reliquary (detail), by Bartolommeo da Bologna



Fig. 11—Padua, S. Antonio: Reliquary (detail), XIV Century



Fig. 12—Padua, S. Antonio: Reliquary (detail), by Bartolommeo da Bologna



Fig. 13—Rome, Museo Cristiano: Wooden Triptych

of this painter,⁸¹ and it appears again in an unfinished ivory relief in the Museo Cristiano, which was proved to be of definite Bolognese provenance by D. D. Egbert (Fig. 8).⁸²

John the Baptist's presence in the Nativity is, so far as I know, unique in late Trecento work.

From the above evidence the work may be dated between 1380 and 1400, approximately, and placed certainly in North Italy, probably in one of the cosmopolitan centers, where the commingling of foreign influences would not be surprising.88

* *

The crucifix, no. 0240 (Fig. 9),⁸⁴ is a piece of work notably inferior to the silver triptych. It is inventoried under a separate number, but the De Rossi inventory mentions it as surmounting the triptych, no. 0215. It presents a Christ, nimbed, with thumbs turned up, fastened to the cross by three nails. The titulus, with the inscription INRI, is inverted. On the top arm is the eagle of John; an angel and a lion are on the lateral arms, while the lower arm has the ox. All the symbols except the ox are nimbed. A spray at the bottom supports Mary and John, both nimbed. John holds a scroll.

There is nothing unusual about the iconography of the crucifix. John and Mary appear supported in this manner on either side of the Crucifixion in Trecento metalwork, 35 and it shares the catenated border with two reliquaries in S. Antonio, Padua, 36 one the work of Bartolommeo da Bologna (Fig. 10) the other of unknown origin, but assigned to the fourteenth century (Fig. 11). The only other ornament similar to that of the crucifix is the complicated rope pattern which appears in the Cinquecento, the rope patterns of the Trecento being either simple plaits or the usual coil. Since the linked border of Bartolommeo, who flourished c. 1440, is a mannerism employed by few other artists, it may be assumed to be an indication of Bolognese provenance. On stylistic grounds the second Padua reliquary, made for a stone from Gethsemane, cannot be dated beyond the Trecento, and since the linked border is used, it is to that extent indicated as a Bolognese work, and the

31. Ibid., pl. III.

32. Egbert, North Italian Gothic Ivories in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library, in Art Studies, 1929, p. 204 and fig. 69.

33. Further evidence for Bologna may be cited in the resemblance between the figure of Peter on the ivory relief of the Museo Cristiano (Fig. 8), which betrays marked Burgundian influence, and that of the same saint on the triptych.

34. Dimensions: height, 13.5; width (maximum), 7.5; thickness (maximum), 1.0. Condition: intact. Gilding worn. Some green oxidation on either side of the legs of Christ, and on the chain border. The titulus is attached upside down. Technique: cast. Corpus riveted to simple rectangular cross by three nails; this simple cross is attached to the larger one by the titulus above and the symbol of Luke below. The symbols are riveted through the cross. The larger cross is incised with a cross and circle pattern, and

is surrounded by a chain border. A peg at the bottom holds traces of solder.

35. A crucifix from Gemona, assigned to the fourteenth century (cf. Processionskreuz aus Gemona in Friaul, in Mittelalterl. Denkm. österr. Kaiserstaates, Stuttgart, 1860, II, p. 91, and pl. XVIII), has this arrangement. Also a crucifix in the Museo Cristiano no. 46, probably of Sienese workmanship, which was made for the Compagnia della Vergine Maria of Galciana near Prato, an organization articled in 1334 (cf. Guasti, Capitoli della compagnia di S. Maria, Prato, 1868). The Croce dei Pisani in the Cathedral of Lucca, given by tradition to Giovanni Pisano, is more probably a later work by a local artist (cf. Ridolfi, L'Arte in Lucca, Lucca, 1882, pp. 228 ff.).

36. Cf. Gonzati, La basilica di S. Antonio di Padova, Padua, 1842, I, p. 210, item XLIV, and p. 227, item XCIV.

Vatican crucifix, on which the border also appears, may also be regarded as a product of Bologna contemporaneous with the triptych. That two different hands were employed on the ensemble is obvious. The reliquary by Bartolommeo uses, too, the volute crockets (Fig. 12) found on the Roseto reliquary; these appear in a modified form on the triptych. They are thus not the Baroque motifs that they might at first seem to be, but authentic details of Gothic ornament. On these grounds we must assume both the triptych and the crucifix to be contemporaneous, of the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and probably of Bolognese prevenance.

* *

The second triptych, no. 0665 (Fig. 13), is of wood. On the gable a half-figure of Christ, nude, with crossed arms, emerges from a calyx, which is flanked by two Baroque wreaths enclosing half-figures of turbaned prophets, each holding a scroll in one hand and pointing with the index finger of the other to Christ. In the gable is an Annunciation, with Gabriel and Mary kneeling on either side of a threeflowered lily growing out of a rock or mound of earth. In the half-gables of the wings are kneeling angels, each bearing a candlestick. The main panel of the central square presents a Crucifixion; the titulus is not inscribed. In the lateral compartments of this square are: left, from top down: St. Peter, with book and keys; John the Baptist, in pallium only, holping a scroll; St. Catherine of Alexandria, with palm and wheel; right, from top down: St. Paul, with book and sword; St. James Major, with book and staff; and Mary Magdalen, who has long hair and hands joined in prayer. In the upper panel of the left wing are St. Donatus and St. Lawrence; in the lower panel, St. Barbara, and St. Clare of Assisi. In the upper panel of the right wing are St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua; in the lower panel, St. Christopher, holding the clothed Child, whose hand rests on the saint's head, and St. Anthony Abbot, with staff and bell. 88

The figures growing out of calyxes are cited by Egbert ³⁹ in reference to an ivory triptych in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 14). Such foliate ornament is a feature frequently met in Venetian monumental sculpture, and its occurrence in the Vatican triptych argues a definite provenance and date. The most important monumental examples are a relief in S. Pietro di Castello, of the second half of the fourteenth

37. Dimensions: height, 24.5; width, 28.0; thickness of center, 1.5; of wings, 1.0. The triptych is heavily varnished in dark brown. A plug repair, which had lost its lower molding before the present coat of varnish was put on, has been inserted in the border below the feet of John the Evangelist. There are occasional traces of gilding. The work is now backed with a gilt panel and set in a picture frame with a gilt border. There are no hinges.

38. Planiscig (Geschichte der venezianischen Skulp-

38. Planiscig (Geschichte der venezianischen Skulptur im XIV. Jahrhundert, in Jahrb. kunsth. Samml., XXXIII, 1915, p. 107) identifies a figure on the main portal of S. Lorenzo, Vicenza, similar to the St. Donatus of the triptych, as St. Louis of Toulouse.

However, since the Vicenza figure does not carry a book, and another of St. Donatus in the Cathedral of Murano (*ibid.*, fig. 23), A. D. 1310, has this feature, we may consider the saint of the triptych to be Donatus. St. Lawrence may be identified not only by means of the censer, which occurs on the Vicenza portal also (*ibid.*, fig. 73), but by the small trivet gridiron he carries, employed as an attribute of this saint on the reredos of S. Salvatore, Venice, c. 1290, and on the altar of S. Francesco, Bologna, by the brothers Massegne. St. Barbara is made known through the chalice, host, and palm; St. Clare by her abbess' habit and cross.

39. Egbert, op. cit., p. 173.



Fig. 14—New York, Metropolitan Museum:

Triptych



Fig. 15—London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Bone Crozier



Fig. 16 — Venice, Abbazia della Misericordia:

Portal Sculptures



Fig. 17—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery:
Bone Crozier



Fig. 18-Vicenza, S. Lorenzo: Main Portal



Fig. 19—Klosterneuburg:
Ivory Crozier



Fig. 20—Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo: Tomb of Michele Morosini (detail)



Fig. 21—Venice, St. Mark's, Baptistery: Mosaic of Crucifixion (detail)

century,40 the portal of the Capella Corner, in the Frari,41 and on the Abbazia della Misericordia, of the second half of the fourteenth century (Fig. 16).42

Concerning the wreaths inclosing prophets, these seem to have appeared first as simple foliage, without half-figures.48 Leaves surrounding the volutes of croziers appear in Italy in the thirteenth century, and von Schlosser suggests 44 that the motif is autochthonous to the Lagoon district. Later the figure of Christ takes the place of the cone which emerges from the upper leaf. A bone crozier, formerly at Volterra and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 45 illustrates this development (Fig. 15). Here the figure of Christ is flanked by David (?) and Solomon (?); both figures held scrolls, but that belonging to the left-hand prophet has been broken off. This crozier belonged to Benci Aldobrandini, Bishop of Gubbio, 1331, but is undoubtedly of Venetian workmanship, for the trefoil arch supported by spiral columns surmounted with scroll crockets on the knop is a fourteenth century Venetian mannerism. 46 A bone crozier in the Walters Art Gallery (Fig. 17), Baltimore, shows the further development of this use of decorative half-figures by artisans intimately related to the makers of the Vatican triptych. Here the two prophets are supplemented by others which once completely surrounded the volute; they are inclosed by wreaths identical with those of the triptych. Such prophets surrounded by foliage occur in the archivolt sculpture on the main portal of S. Lorenzo, Vicenza (Fig. 18),47 called by Planiscig 48 a typical example of Venetian sculpture in the fourth decade of the fourteenth century. The work is dated by inscription in 1344. These prophets, although not turbaned, clearly indicate a tradition among Venetian Trecento artisans in which half-figures were inclosed in wreaths. It is interesting to note also that the trilobate leaves in the central spandrels of the Vatican triptych are almost exactly reproduced in the Vicenza portal.

A Venetian provenance for the Walters crozier, which has so close an affinity to the triptych under consideration, is more certainly confirmed by comparing the Death of the Virgin within the volute to that on the tomb of Francesco Dandolo, originally in the Frari, and now in the museum of the Seminario Patriarcale.49 The tomb relief, although the Virgin is oriented in the opposite direction, bears a marked resemblance to the crozier in facial type, particularly the figure of Christ holding the soul of the expired Mary.

The angels bearing candlesticks do not appear in Venetian sculpture until after the period of the triptych. There are two on the Abbazia della Misericordia (Fig. 16), but Planiscig 50 correctly says that, on stylistic grounds, they are certainly

^{40.} Planiscig, op. cit., fig. 69.

^{41.} Ibid., fig. 86.

^{42.} Ibid., fig. 109.

Petkovič, La peinture serbe du moyen-âge, in Musée d'histoire de l'art, monuments serbes VI, Belgrade, 1930, illustrates a Tree of Nemanja (pl. 87) and a tree of Jesse (pl. 94), mediaeval wall paintings from Dečani, in which standing figures are surrounded by wreaths of flowers. These seem to be in a manuscript tradition, not related to the clear development of the calyx figures above.

^{44.} J. von Schlosser, Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig, in Jahrb. kunsth. Samml., XX (1899), p. 249.

^{45.} Cf. Longhurst, Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1929, II, p. 60, and pl. LII, A547-1910. Another ivory, in better condition but of less certain date, is illustrated in Sambon, Description des ivoires de la ville de Volterra, Florence, 1880, no. 3. This crozier is certainly from the same atelier as the one in the Walters Art Gallery, cited below.
46. Planiscig, op. cit., fig. 43.

^{47.} Cf. note 43.

^{48.} Planiscig, op. cit., p. 106.

^{49.} Ibid., figs. 24-27.

^{50.} Planiscig, Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance, Vienna, 1921, p. 30.

not contemporaneous with the portal, but relate rather to a relief of Bartolommeo Buon's in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 51 Whether these later angels replaced others of an earlier date, which might have served as models for those of the triptych, is not known. Such kneeling angels do occur on an ivory triptych in the Louvre, given by Koechlin 52 to France but more recently assigned by C. R. Morey to a North Italian provenance.58

That the lily in the Annunciation grows from a mound of earth is indeed curious. The artist, impelled by the exigencies of his space, might just as well have separated his figures by the usual jar and stalks. Several examples using variations of the triptych's motif appear in Venetian works of art. The first is an ivory crozier at Klosterneuburg, erroneously given by Lind to the thirteenth century 54 (Fig. 19). In this work not only is there a similarity of painted decoration to the Victoria and Albert Museum crozier cited above, and a use of the bearded Pantokrator arising from a calyx, which is a definite Venetian mannerism, but the design between the two prophets bears considerable resemblance to that also used on the crozier of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The striking feature of the Klosterneuburg crozier is the tree which separates Gabriel and the Virgin, serving not only as a lectern, but as a perch for the Holy Ghost. The Annunciation in the gable of the Metropolitan triptych (Fig. 14) uses instead a spiral column. The source for the Vatican triptych's three-stemmed lily may perhaps be discerned in a German manuscript of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale.55 Here, in an Annunciation to St. Anne, the two figures are separated by a three-leafed plant growing from the earth.

The spiral columns are too commonplace a feature of North Italian, and particularly Venetian, work, to be worthy of more than passing remark.

The tourelles on either side of the gable are most nearly approximated by those above the Magi reliefs in S. Eustorgio, Milan, of 1347. Planiscig 56 describes these reliefs as indicative of the new Sienese influence in North Italy, and in view of this it would hardly be correct to ascribe the origin of our tourelles to Venice. Various good examples are found in Venice, though they tend to be hexagonal rather than square. Those closest to the triptych surmount the twin towers on either side of the tomb of Michele Morosini, in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Here also the trefoil ogee arch is contained in a rectangular panel, with foliate decoration in the spandrels (Fig. 20). This work was erected shortly after 1382.

The Crucifixion presents few difficulties. What appears to be four logs of wood piled at the foot of the cross is only the Byzantine formula for a rocky landscape. The figure of John the Evangelist seems to be a literal reversal of the same figure from the pulpit of Niccolò Pisano in Siena. Sandberg-Vavalà says 57 that the Virgin

^{51.} Ibid., fig. 22. 52. Koechlin, Les ivoires gothiques français, Paris,

^{1924,} II, p. 92, and pl. LV.

The introduction of Peter and Paul as attendants in the Coronation of the Virgin, the feature of Joseph holding the Child in the Nativity, the introduction of a female attendant in the Presentation. together with the link hinges, a characteristic of Italian workmanship, are the reasons for the reassignment.

^{54.} Cf. Karl Lind, Die österreichische kunsthistorische Abtheilung der Wiener Weltausstellung, in Mitt. K. K. Central-Commission, Vienna, XVIII (1873), p. 192 ff.

^{55.} Cf. Lutz and Perdrizet, op cit., I, p. 335; II, pl. 140b.

Venezianische Bildhauer, p. 151.
 Cf. Sandberg-Vavalà, La croce dipinta italiana, Verona, 1929, p. 137.

with clasped hands in the Crucifixion is used by workmen removed from Byzantine influence. But a ready model for the sculptor appears in Venice in the mosaics of the Baptistery of St. Mark's, carried out under the Doge Andrea Dandolo, 1342-1354 (Fig. 21).

St. Christopher, carrying the Child, Who has His hand on the saint's head, is looking back at the Child, a Venetian tradition exemplified in a figure from a panel in S. Maria di Castelnuovo, by the Venetian Guglielmus, 1382, 58 and a relief in the Scuola della Carità, 1384.59

58. Van Marle, op. cit., IV, fig. 21.

59. Planiscig, in Jahrb. Kunsth. Samml. XXXIII (1915), fig. 110.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ANNUNCIATION IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.'

By DAVID M. ROBB

HE modifications of Christian iconography that were brought about in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have frequently been pointed out and commented upon, modifications that are quite apparent in that they involve departures from schemes well founded in tradition. It has largely escaped attention, however, that new traditions were substituted for the old ones, based upon the wider and more humanized experiences of the late Middle Ages. The purpose of this article is to establish, as far as is possible, the identity of the traditions of Annunciation iconography in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The subject matter of the Annunciation is found in the Gospel of Luke (i: 26-38) and in the Apocryphal Gospels.³ The latter sources do not appear to have been drawn upon as directly by fourteenth and fifteenth century artists as by those of pre-Gothic periods,⁴ and when details in fourteenth and fifteenth century Annunciations seem to reflect the Apocryphal accounts, they can usually be traced to the influence of writings which were themselves based on the Apocryphal Gospels, such as the Legenda aurea by Jacobus de Voragine and the Meditationes Vitae Christi by the Pseudo-Bonaventura.

The general characteristics of the Annunciation in fourteenth and fifteenth century art are derived from the Gospel account, variations in interpreting it being traceable to the differing traditions of the artists involved. The nature of these variations becomes clear if three roughly contemporary versions of the subject be compared, one by Spinello Aretino (Fig. 38), one by the Master of the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut (Fig. 26) and one by the Master of Flémalle (Fig. 29). In each of these examples the Virgin is seated, in the act of reading or interrupted by the angel kneeling before her. They are thus more or less alike if they are judged by the iconographic rules applicable to earlier art. But the settings all differ, a portico in the first, an ecclesiastic structure in the second, and a bourgeois Flemish room in the third. The immediate purpose of this study is to determine the way in which these three different settings came into being.

is also due to Knoedler & Co. for the photograph reproduced in Fig. 31.

2. See in particular Émile Mâle, L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge en France, Paris, 1925; also Louis Bréhier, L'art chrétien, Paris, 1918, chaps. xii and xiii.

Bréhier, L'art chrétien, Paris, 1918, chaps. xii and xiii.
3. Protevangelium of James x-xi; Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew ix; History of the Blessed Virgin Mary; Gospel of the Nativity of Mary ix.

4. Gabriel Millet, Récherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile, Paris, 1916, pp. 67-92.

I. The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness for many helpful suggestions received in the course of this study from Mrs. Grace Hollis of the Index of Christian Art of Princeton University, from Dr. Millard Meiss of Columbia University, and especially from Dr. Erwin Panofsky of the Institute for Advanced Study (some of my illustrations are taken from his article, The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece, in The Art Bulletin, XVII (1935), pp. 433 ff.). Acknowledgement

First it would be well to examine briefly the methods of representing the Annunciation that appear in earlier mediaeval art. The first known example is a fresco in the Cemetery of Priscilla in Rome, in which a wingless figure stands before a seated woman. This type reappears in Alexandrian art of the first millenium, one of the finest examples being an ivory in the Trivulzio collection in Milan, and is contrasted with the type which prevailed in the Eastern or Asiatic Mediterranean world in that the Virgin is seated as she receives the Holy Word instead of standing. The Asiatic type appears in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris, B. N. ms. gr. 510).7 Yet a third Annunciation type in early mediaeval art is that which was employed in the school that apparently existed in the fifth and sixth centuries in North Italy and South France in which the angel appears to the Virgin as she kneels at the well according to the account in the Pseudo-Matthew.8

In many Byzantine Annunciations a detail inspired by Apocryphal versions of the subject is the spindle which the Virgin holds. It can be seen in the Annunciation on the Maximianus Throne at Ravenna, to mention but one of many instances, and is accounted for by the Apocryphal references to the Virgin as engaged in spinning thread for the veil of the temple when the angel spoke to her.10 The theme also appears in the illustrations of the Homilies of the monk Jacobus, 11 in which no less than ten miniatures are required to relate the story of the Annunciation and Incarnation, beginning with the Mission of Gabriel and ending with his return to Heaven. Our illustration (Fig. 1) is of the miniature on fol. 117v of the Vatican manuscript and represents the Virgin at the well when she heard the voice of the angel, as related in the Protevangelium of James, whereupon she retired to her dwelling and took up the spindle which can be seen inside it. The Virgin in represented in eight of the ten miniatures in the sequence and the spindle also appears in each one. Later examples of the motive have been noted by Mâle, 12 and others will be pointed out which were undoubtedly inspired by the Apocryphal Gospels.

In Carolingian and Ottonian art, the Annunciation follows Byzantine types with few if any variations. On the Hildesheim doors 18 and the doors of Santa Maria im Kapitol in Cologne,14 the Virgin stands as the angel approaches her, before a plain background in the latter and an architectural setting reminiscent of Byzantine manuscript examples in the former. She is seated in other examples, such as in the Antiphonary of Prüm of the late tenth century, 15 and on an ivory of c. 1100 in the Kaiser Friedrich Meseum in Berlin (Fig. 42). These same distinctions can be seen in

^{5.} Fernand Cabrol, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne, Paris, 1907, I, 2, fig. 761.

^{6.} Adolf Goldschmidt, Elfenbeinskulpturen, Berlin, 1926, IV, pl. xlvi, no. 160.

^{7.} Henri Omont, Les miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1929, pl. xx.

E. Baldwin Smith, Early Christian Iconography, Princeton, 1918, pp. 11-13.

^{9.} E. Baldwin Smith, op. cit., pp. 171-173 and

fig. 144. 10. Protevangelium of James xi: 1; Pseudo-Matthew ix.

^{11.} Cosimo Stornajolo, Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo monaco (Cod. vatic. grec. 1162), Rome, 1910,

pls. xlviii-lvii; L. Bréhier, Les miniatures des "Homélies' du moine Jacques et le théatre religieux à Byzance, in Monuments Piot, XXIV (1920), pl. viii, no. 1, and pp. 115-119.

^{12.} Émile Mâle, L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France, Paris, 1922, pp. 56-58, 118, and Religious Art in France; Thirteenth Century, London and New York, 1913, p. 242.

^{13.} Adolf Goldschmidt, Die deutschen Bronzetüren des frühen Mittelalters, Marburg, 1926, pl. xxxix.

^{14.} Richard Hamann, Die Holztür der Pfarrkirche

von S. M. im Kapitol, Marburg, 1926, pl. 3.
15. Paris, B. N. ms. lat. 9948, fol. IV; illustrated in Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst, XIX (1906),

Romanesque art, both the standing and seated Virgin being represented. She stands, for example, in the monumental group in the Museum at Toulouse, and in the proto-Gothic sculpture of the façade of Chartres; but she is seated in two examples in the decoration of St.-Trophîme at Arles, one on the façade, the other on a capital in the cloister. It is interesting to note that in both of the examples at St.-Trophîme, the Virgin holds a spindle as in the Byzantine examples noted above. In manuscript illumination of the Romanesque period, as well as in sculpture, both the standing and seated Virgin types appear, with no very important distinctions to be observed in their use. In

In the Gothic period the Annunciation almost invariably figured in the sculptured ornament of cathedral façades, such as those of the north transept at Chartres, and at Amiens and Reims, to mention only a few of many examples, finding a place in portals dedicated to the Virgin as well as in those relating the life of her Son. It is usually represented only by the figures of the angel and the Virgin in Gothic sculpture, there being few if any instances in which details like the spindle and distaff appear in such examples. In other media, it is common to find in examples from the end of the century a vase with a long-stemmed flower or flowers, placed between the two protagonists. The exact significance of this motive has been much debated, but its popularity is attested by the fact that it is seldom absent from subsequent representations. The vase of flowers is the only important addition of the thirteenth century to the iconography of the Annunciation, which is usually portrayed in terms as simple and dignified as the Gospel story itself.

No less monumental than the French sculptured Annunciations of the Gothic period are those in fresco and mosaic that appear in Italian art of the thirteenth century. Such, for example, is that in S. Maria in Trastevere at Rome by Cavallini, 1291 (Fig. 2). The Virgin is seated in a throne at the right, a vase of lilies appearing between her and the angel who enters from the left. In the sky is the nimbed bust of God the Father, with rays emerging from it toward the Virgin, upon whom the dove of the Holy Ghost descends. The Virgin holds a book, instead of the spindle that figures in earlier examples, a motive which was probably suggested by theological

16. A. Kingsley Porter, Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, Boston, 1923, IV, figs. 480-481.

17. Étienne Houvet, Cathédrale de Chartres; portail occidental ou royal, Chelles, 1919, pl. 52.

18. Porter, op. cit., IX, fig. 1370.

but the absence of the object once held by the angel makes confirmation of this identification impossible. The Gredilla da Sedano tympanum is in a fair state of preservation (save for the Virgin's head which is an obvious restoration); typologically, it appears to be a confusion of the Annunciation with the Adoration of the Magi. Both these examples are probably provincial modifications of the traditional Annunciation scheme since they are unique in twelfth century art.

20. Yrjö Hirn, The Sacred Shrine, London, 1912, pp. 281-283, and Mâle, Religious Art in France; Thirteenth Century, p. 245. The motive is not a thirteenth century invention as Mâle states; it appears in a Coptic Synaxary of the tenth century now in the Morgan Library, reproduced in The Art Bulletin, V (1922-3), pl. xxxiii, and in a Salzburg manuscript of the twelfth century (Georg Swarzenski, Die Salzburger Malerei von den ersten Anfängen bis zur Blütezeit des romanischen Stils, Leipzig, 1908-1913, pl. lxxxiv).

^{19.} Interesting variations in the Annunciation scheme can be seen in two Spanish examples from the second half of the twelfth century, a relief in the cloister of S. Domingo de Silos and a tympanum at Gredilla da Sedano near Burgos (A. Kingsley Porter, Spanish Romanesque Sculpture, Florence and Paris, 1928, pls. 84 and 154). The Virgin is seated in both, but Gabriel kneels before her instead of standing, and, in each case, two angels place a crown on the Virgin's head. The theme is further enriched in the tympanum from Gredilla da Sedano by the addition of Joseph and two figures tentatively identified as prophets by the fact that one of them holds a book. The Silos relief might be an example of the rare Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin (cf. note 30),



Fig. 1—Rome, Vatican: Homilies of the Monk Jacobus. Fol. 117v



Fig. 2—Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere:
Annunciation



Fig. 3-Padua, Arena Chapel: Annunciation, by Giotto



Fig. 4—London, National Gallery:
Annunciation, by Duccio



Fig. 5—Siena, Opera del Duomo: Annunciation of the Virgin's Death by Duccio

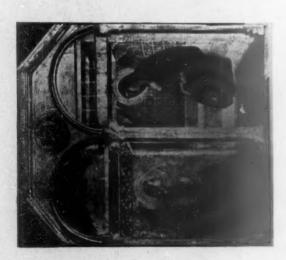


Fig. 6—Arezzo, Pieve: Detail of Altarpiece, by Pietro Lovenzetti

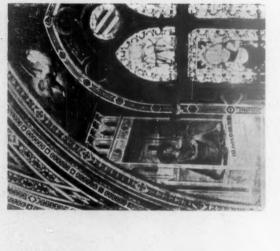


Fig. 7—Florence, S. Croce,
Baroncelli Chapel: Annunciation,
by Taddeo Gaddi



Fig. 10-Rome, Palazzo Venezia: Detail of Panel, by Giovanni da Milano

Fig. 9-Florence, S. Maria Novella:

Annunciation



F1G. 8—Florence, Loeser Collection: Annunciation, by Jacopo del Casentino



Fig. 11-New York, Morgan Library: Hours of the Virgin. Fol. 26v

writings of the time.²¹ The lectern before which the Virgin sometimes stands or sits is a reference to the same idea, of her reading.

In the fourteenth century, an element in the iconography of the Annunciation became very important which had been of relatively subordinate significance in previous representations, namely the setting. It is not unusual to find suggestions of a setting in earlier examples, 22 but this element is not treated in a realistic fashion in spite of the fact that the Apocryphal writers make some mention of the place in which the Annunciation occurred. 88 Traditional iconographic distinctions continue,24 but with greater freedom in employing the various individual motives, which thus lost their validity as determinants of period and style. For while individual motives and their variants are the basis of the iconographic study of art through the thirteenth century; from the fourteenth century on, the touchstone is the conception of the subject as a whole, including its setting, which became more important than the arrangement of the figures, although they show some innovations. The new importance of the setting demanded new means for unifying the representation. Where symbolic or purely decorative relationships had sufficed before, it now became necessary to develop means by which space could be suggested and rendered an integral part of the portrayal.26 Our immediate interest is to observe the manner in which this development affects the representation of the Annunciation.

One of the first monumental representations of our subject which reflects these new interests is that by Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua (Fig. 3), dated 1305. Comparison with the mosaic of S. Maria in Trastevere (Fig. 2) will reveal a number of differences from the Italo-Byzantine type embodied in the latter. The angel and the Virgin both kneel, motives which Giotto very probably derived from the Pseudo-Bonaventura; 36 in the Virgin's case it is the first appearance of a motive later current. Also to be noted are the book held by the Virgin and the lectern before which she kneels. But more important than these details is the suggestion of a setting, the incident taking place in two bays of an open portico, rendered in perspective, with drawn curtains at the back giving the impression of rooms beyond. Such a setting differs sharply in both idea and realization from previous examples

^{21.} Such as the *Meditationes vitae Christi* by the Pseudo-Bonaventura, cap. iii, in which it is suggested that the Virgin may have been reading Isaiah's prophecy of the Incarnation at the moment the angel appeared to her; see also Hirn, op. cit., pp. 279-280.

^{22.} The Trivulzio Ivory (cited in note 6); the Hildesheim doors (cited in note 13); an ivory in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Fig. 42); and eleventh century manuscript examples in the Gereon Sacramentary, fol. 12v (Paris, B. N., ms. lat. 817) and the Gospel Book of Hitda of Meschede, fol. 2or (Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek, 1640), in both of which Gabriel draws back a curtain to enter the Virgin's chamber (H. Ehl, Die ottonische kölner Buchmalerei, Bonn and Leipzig, 1922, figs. 15 and 48).

Leipzig, 1922, figs. 15 and 48).

23. In the History of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Gabriel appeared "whilst Mary was sitting by herself in the great house of God;" in the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, ix, the appearance of the angel is

described as filling "the chamber where she was with a great light."

^{24.} Discussions of the Annunciation in Italian art through the Renaissance in which the iconography of the figures is treated may be found in A. Venturi, La Madonna, Milan, 1900, pp. 139-199; Dora Schumann, Die Verkündigung in der italienischen Kunst der Renaissance, Leipzig and Berlin, 1910; Schubring, Die Verkündigung in der romanischen Kunst, in Preussische Jahrbücher, Berlin, June, 1905, pp. 458 ff.

^{25.} The definitive work on this subject is by Erwin Panofsky, Die Perspektive als "symbolische Form," in Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, IV (1924-5), Leipzig, 1927, pp. 258 ff.

^{26.} Meditationes vitae Christi, cap. iii: "Gabriel than entred in to maryes chaumbre.... knelinge with reuerence.... the mylde mayden marye.... kneled doun with souereyn deuocioun:" as translated by Nicholas Love, The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908.

which have mere architectural ideographs (Figs. 1 and 42) as backgrounds, or are set outdoors, 27 or show the figures before an abstract background. Giotto's innovations did not extend, however, to suggesting a unified space in which the figures are placed. From attaining this, he was prevented by having to place the scene over the chancel arch. It should be borne in mind in this connection, however, that in earlier representations of the subject with an architectural background, it is not uncommon to find the angel and the Virgin each occupying a separate bay in a double arcade.28 Reminiscences of this arrangement (a column separating the two figures, e. g.) are almost never absent from Italian representations of the Annunciation, even as late as the end of the fifteenth century (Fig. 41), and are often found as a traditional element in examples which are much more realistic in other respects.

In the Annunciation painted by Duccio for the Siena Maestà (Fig. 4), a preoccupation with spatial problems somewhat similar to that in Giotto's is apparent. The figures themselves are conceived in a more or less traditional fashion, the Virgin standing in an open portico 20 while the angel advances toward her from the left. But the pillar behind which the angel passes acts as a setoff to suggest space behind it, an impression which the painter attempted to heighten by showing the oblique arches of the porticoes in perspective. Effective though these devices are in suggesting the space in which the figures move, the columns still prevent a complete unification of it. In thus retaining traditional elements in his version of the Annunciation, Duccio was forced to compromise with his interest in realistic portrayal, a compromise which he did not have to make in the very similar arrangement of the Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin (Fig. 5) in the Maestà. This subject is rare in art before the fourteenth century, 90 hence there was no well-defined traditional manner of representing it. The Virgin is seated in a room which is clearly conceived as an interior, with the ceiling beams converging and the oblique arches foreshortened, while the angel, who has just emerged from an anteroom, kneels before her holding the palm which signifies her approaching death. Even here, in a scheme which is the most advanced of its period (c. 1311) in spatial implications, the dichotomy of the traditional Annunciation arrangement persists, in that the Virgin and the angel are not conceived as occupying a single unified volume of space. None the less, the importance of Duccio's Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin is very great, for it contains elements which later artists were to employ in solving a problem which is here presented in

Later Sienese painters followed the path suggested by Duccio's representation

^{27.} Panel by the St. Peter Master in the Siena Accademia; see Raimond van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923, I, pl. facing p. 178

^{28.} Relief from a pulpit in Barga: Venturi, op. cit., p. 151. Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, cod. hist., fol. 415, fol. 3ov: Löffler, Schwäbische Buchmalerei in romanischer Zeit, pl. 25. Oxford, All Soul's Ms. 6, fol. 3r: Eric Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Centuries, pl. 83a.

^{29.} Cf. an Italo-Byzantine Annunciation exhibited in the Burlington House Exhibition in 1930: Erwin Panofsky, The Friedsam Annunciation and the Ghent

Altarpiece, in The Art Bulletin, XVII (1935), fig. 10, opp. p. 445.

^{30.} But two examples before the fourteenth century are listed in the Princeton Index of Christian Art, one from manuscript 229 in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow (Millar, op. cit., pl. 61), the other in a tympanum from St.-Pierre-le-Puellier now in the Musée de Berry at Bourges (Porter, Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, fig. 1262). To these might be added two examples cited by Mâle (Religious Art in France; Thirteenth Century, p. 248) in stained glass windows at St.-Quentin and Soissons. In general, see Hirn, op. cit., pp. 414-417.

of the Annunciation. In the one painted by Pietro Lorenzetti in 1320 as part of the frontal in the Pieve at Arezzo (Fig. 6) the seated Virgin is interrupted in reading by the angel kneeling before her. The arches of the altar frame itself are imagined as part of the setting of the scene, the pillar between the two figures marking the division between the two parts of the biforate arcade in which the incident occurs. As in Duccio's Annunciation (Fig. 4), the impression is of an exterior portico, an impression that is heightened by the curious balcony above the Virgin, suggesting space by the foreshortened ceiling lines, and by the diagonal arrangement of the figures, the angel being nearer than the Virgin. 31 Unlike Pietro Lorenzetti's Annunciation, the famous panel of 1333 by Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi in the Uffizi⁸² adheres to the traditional, earlier, abstract setting, though the kneeling angel and the gesture of the Virgin show familiarity with Giottesque and Ducciesque innovations. In similar fashion, Ambrogio Lorenzetti retains the abstract background in the Siena Academy Annunciation of 1344,38 and does not attempt any suggestion of a spatial setting, though his frescoes of 1331 and later in S. Francesco at Siena reveal his command of the current Sienese spatial idioms.

In Florentine painting of the first half of the fourteenth century, the Giotteschi either borrowed from Giotto or continued to represent the Annunciation in traditional ways. Taddeo Gaddi furnished examples of both types, the former in the fresco of the Baroncelli Chapel in S. Croce (Fig. 7), and the latter in a panel in the Accademia which was also painted for S. Croce. 84 The scheme of the fresco shows the unmistakable influence of Giotto's Padua fresco (Fig. 3), appearing as it does in a spandrel of the window wall, and showing the Virgin seated in a portico, gazing toward the angel who descends from the sky.85 In the Accademia panel, on the other hand, the older

31. An adaptation of the setting of Duccio's Annunciation which also has some relation to the Pietro Lorenzetti panel in the Pieve at Arezzo appears in the enigmatic Annunciation in the Museum at Aix-en-Provence (Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft für photographische Publikationen, 1910, VI, pl. 10) which has been variously attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Lippo Memmi, and Simone Martini (L. H. Labande, Les primitifs français, Marseilles, 1932, p. 150), and which should be dated c. 1340.

32. Van Marle, op. cit., II, pl. facing p. 232.

33. Ibid., p. 421, fig. 280.

34. Ibid., III, p. 311, fig. 179.

35. Dora Schumann (op. cit., p. 170) credits Taddeo Gaddi with the invention of the flying angel in the Annunciation on the strength of this example, failing to observe the distinction that should be made between the type of the angel who dives, as here, and the type that floats toward the Virgin, e. g., the Annunciation on fol. 18 of a manuscript upon which Jacquemart de Hesdin worked for the Duc de Berry (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. ms. 719; our Fig. 22), or the example by Lorenzo Monaco in the Florence Accademia (Van Marle, op. cit., IX, p. 152). The diving angel derives from such types as that illustrated from the Homelies of Jacobus (Fig. 1); it is often used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in subjects related to the Annunciation but rarely in the Annunciation itself. An example is the miniature on fol. 34 of the Grandes Heures du Duc de Berry (Paris,

B. N. ms. lat. 919, illustrated in H. Martin, joyaux d'enluminure à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and Brussels, 1928, pl. 59) representing the Virgin spinning in the temple with an angel bringing her food. Similar representations occur in a miniature underneath the Annunciation in a Book of Hours by the Boucicaut master in the Corsini Gallery in Florence (Rassegna d'arte, 1917, p. 120), and in one (also accompanying the Annunciation miniature) in a Book of Hours by the Rohan master in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (A. Heimann, Der Meister der "Grandes Heures de Rohan" und seine Werkstatt, in Städeljahrbuch, VII-VIII, 1932, fig. 19). None of these examples is the actual Annunciation, in which the same artists represent Gabriel walking or kneeling. The diving angel sometimes appears in the typologically related Annunciations to Anna and to Joachim (Van Marle, op. cit., I, fig. 142, and P. d'Achiardi, I quadri primitivi della Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, 1929, pl. xxiiia), but only rarely in the Annunciation proper (the Taddeo Gaddi fresco, Fig. 7, and a North Italian painting of the fifteenth century that has been tentatively attributed to Lorenzo Salimbene in the Friedsam Collection in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, L'Arte, XXXIII, 1930, p. 81). The flying angel (as distinguished from the diving type) appears to have developed from the walking angel of the Italo-Byzantine scheme (cf. Fig. 1), which itself derives from the classic Nike, the act of flying being suggested by the levitation of the walking figure. This idea seems to

exterior portico scheme appears, rendered in a slightly more spatial manner than in thirteenth century examples, the seated Virgin being separated from the kneeling angel by a pillar. The Annunciations which often appear in the gables of fourteenth century altarpieces, for which location the theme was a favorite motive, reveal a similar employment of details drawn from the works of the greater masters, but usually employed without many innovations, and generally suggesting the traditional scheme of the exterior portico.

In the foregoing Sienese and Florentine examples of the Annunciation, spatial effects, when present, appear more or less for their own sake and with no evident desire to utilize them as an aesthetically unifying element. The traditional conception of the subject called for an exterior setting which was usually rendered as a portico, as we have seen; and the arcade with columns inevitably produced a division of the space, the only exception being Duccio's Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin, an untraditional subject, in which an interior is represented. But Duccio did not succeed in attaining complete spatial unity in that composition (Fig. 5), and it remained for Jacopo del Casentino to suggest the way in which such unity might be attained in an Annunciation in the Loeser collection in Florence (Fig. 8). Done about 1320, it is related, as far as the figures are concerned, to both Florentine and Sienese traditions, 37 the former being suggested by the type of the kneeling angel which offers some similarities with that in Giotto's Padua fresco, while the Virgin is obviously derived from Pietro Lorenzetti's Arezzo Annunciation (Fig. 6). The setting, however, is Sienese, a combination of those employed by Duccio in the Maestà (Figs. 4, 5), with the ceiling beams treated in perspective and the small arcades in the background. But Jacopo eliminates the pillar separating the angel and Virgin, replacing it with the lectern, thus acknowledging the traditional dichotomy but making it less emphatic. In other respects, too, the Loeser panel reflects

have developed in Siena, the evidence justifying this conclusion having been gathered together by Dr. Millard Meiss of Columbia University who will publish it shortly. The basis for this conclusion is an Annunciation by Ferrer Bassa of c. 1530 which reproduces in its essential elements a lost panel by Ambrogio Lorenzetti that also apparently served as model for the painter of a fresco at Paganico, to be illustrated by Dr. Meiss, in which the flying angel occurs. The motive appears in North Italian painting of the later fourteenth century, an early example being in the Annunciation beneath the central panel of Giovanni da Milano's Prato altarpiece of 1364 (Van Marle, op. cit., IV, p. 229, fig. 114). The type used by Giovanni also appears in a miniature on fol. 8v of a Book of Hours made between 1350 and 1378 for Blanch of Savoy by Giovanni di Benedetto da Como (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, clm 23215, our Fig. 45). In central Italy, the flying angel developed into the type employed by Lorenzo Monaco, after passing through a stage represented in Spinello Aretino's Annunciation in S. Francesco at Arezzo (Venturi, op. cit., p. 163). In the North, the Jacquemart de Hesdin example (Fig. 22) reproduces almost exactly the angel type exployed by Giovanni da Milano. After the fifteenth century, the iconographic distinction between flying and diving angels in the Annunciation is not strictly

observed, though it is interesting to note that the typological one persists, as in the Michelangelo drawing in the Oxford University collection (Karl Frey, Die Handzeichnungen Michelangelo Buonarottis, Berlin, 1909-1911, I, no. 140) used by Marcello Venusti as the basis for a painting in S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rome (H. Voss, Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Florenz und Rom, Berlin, 1920, p. 117, fig. 25), and in the drawing, also by Michelangelo, in the British Museum (Frey, op. cit., II, no. 259) upon which was based the Annunciation in the Seminario in Venice that bears a doubtful attribution to Daniele da Volterra, the latter drawing with pentimenti showing the way in which the composition was changed by the later painter. To return to the subject of this disgression, the diving angel in the Taddeo Gaddi fresco (Fig. 7) was probably introduced to make possible a compression of Giotto's Paduan scheme (Fig. 3) into a single arch spandrel, for in Taddeo's panel in the Accademia (cited in note 34), the angel follows very closely the type seen in the Padua fresco.

36. Van Marle, op. cit., II and III, passim.
37. Richard Offner, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting; The Fourteenth Century, New York, 1930, Sect. III, vol. II, pt. 1, pp. xvi ff. Mario Salmi, Rivista d'arte, XI, Ser. 2, I (1929), p. 134.

traditional conceptions: the second angel is only partly in the space occupied by the kneeling one and the Virgin, thus implying the existence of another and unrelated space; the cusped edge of the upper border functions aesthetically in the same manner as the arches in the frontal plane of Duccio's Annunciation (Fig. 4) to keep the space in the picture back of the frame; and the entire architectural setting suggests an exterior portico rather than an interior room. Nonetheless, as a premonition of the subsequent development of the Annunciation scheme, the Jacopo del Casentino panel represents an important step in our iconographical study.

From the analysis of the Loeser panel, it is clear that the greatest obstacle to conceiving the Annunciation setting as isolated and unified was the retention of the traditional, Italian, portico scheme, either in part or as a whole. Before a unification could be achieved, it was necessary to imagine the setting as an interior, without the exterior implications that were inherent in the more traditional setting. Steps in this direction appear in a number of examples in the latter part of the fourteenth century in Italy. Such, for instance, is the significance of the detail in the background of the anonymous fresco of the Annunciation on the entrance wall of S. Maria Novella in Florence (Fig. 9) where the Virgin's bedroom, the thalamus Virginis, can be seen through the door opening from what is in other respects the usual portico. The Virgin's bed, with its implication of an interior setting, also appears in a fresco of the second half of the fourteenth century at Paganico, in a fresco of c. 1360 of the school of Tommaso da Modena in the sacristy of S. Nicolò at Treviso, 88 in two Annunciations, a panel and a fresco, by Martino da Verona, dating between 1396 and 1413,89 and in Pisanello's monumental fresco of 1424-31 in S. Fermo at Verona,40 to mention only a few of many examples. It should be noted, however, that in all of these examples the Virgin and the angel are definitely separated in the traditional manner, the frescoes usually being painted over an arch or window in a manner comparable to that in Giotto's Padua example (Fig. 3), while in the panel by Martino da Verona the angel is set against a deep recess in the background and the Virgin enthroned in front of her bed.

It is significant that the majority of the examples noted above of representations of the Virgin's bed in the Annunciation should have come from northern Italy, for this indicates that an interior setting for the subject seems to have been first imagined in that region. In view of this, the Annunciation on a panel by Giovanni da Milano in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome (Fig. 10) is not so surprising as it might otherwise be. In this Annunciation of c. 1350-1365, what exists as a suggestion in the Jacopo del Casentino panel and the various examples in which the Virgin's bed appears becomes an accomplished fact. In a bare, boxlike room, the monotony of the walls broken only by an arched doorway and an arched corbel table immediately under the ceiling, the angel kneels before the Virgin, who has apparently just risen from her seat before the lectern. This setting is clearly conceived as an interior: the edge of the picture frame no longer serves as a wall, for the ray of light upon which the dove flies lies upon it and suggests the possibility of free movement in space from in front

^{38.} Bollettino d'arte, Ser. 2, IV (1924-25), p. 295. 39. E. Sandberg Vavalà, A Chapter in Fourteenth

Century Iconography: Verona, in The Art Bulletin, XI (1929), figs. 3, 10, 11.
40. Van Marle, op. cit., VIII, pp. 101, 103.

of the picture into it. A very similar setting for the Annunciation (Fig. 11) appears on fol. 26v of a Book of Hours of the Virgin (Morgan Library 3), tentatively attributed to Milan (and certainly of North Italian origin), of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The artist has retained the traditional division of the picture by the frontal column from which two arches spring, but apart from this, the setting is not at all unlike that in the Giovanni da Milano panel. From the foregoing, it seems justifiable to assume that the idea of representing the Annunciation in an interior rather than an exterior setting had its origin in North Italy in the latter part of the fourteenth century and that in the modest panel in the Palazzo Venezia and the miniatur in the Morgan manuscript, we may see in embryo the type from which the realistic bourgeois interiors imagined by the Flemish painters (Figs. 29, 33, 34) were to develop. 41

Various influences of the traditional Italian Annunciation type appear in the closely related North European schools of fourteenth century painting in Bohemia, Northwest Germany, and the Midi. A panel of about 1350 by the Hohenfurth Master, in the Hohenfurth Monastery,42 is characteristic of the so-called first Bohemian style. The slender, linearly rendered figures are Sienese as is also the form of the throne.⁴³ The second Bohemian style is represented by an illuminated initial from the Liber Viaticus of Johann von Neumarkt (Fig. 12), in which the figures have become more solid and plastic under the influence of such Giotteschi as Tommaso da Modena. The setting is not unlike that in the Hohenfurth panel, save that the abstract gold background has been replaced by an architectural loggia. A detail to be noted in this Annunciation is the nude Christ Child being dispatched toward the Virgin by God the Father; 4 a similarly objective detail appears in an Annunciation initial in another Bohemian manuscript, the Missal of Johann von Neumarkt in the Prague Dombibliothek, in which the message of the angel is delivered in the form of a sealed letter. 45 Annunciations in the third Bohemian style can be seen in a miniature from the Mariale Arnesti in the Böhmisches Landesmuseum in Prague and in an initial from a Vesperal and Matutinal in the library at Zittau, 46 both dating c. 1410. In both, the architectural background is of the fantastic type seen in the Liber Viaticus miniature (Fig. 12), with no suggestion of a specific setting.

The close connection that existed between the French École du Midi and the second Bohemian style can be observed by comparing the Liber Viaticus miniature (Fig. 12) with an Annunciation attributed to the Avignon school of about 1390 now in the Arthur Sachs collection in New York (Fig. 13).⁴⁷ Sienese influence is indicated by the figure types and the draped back of the architectural throne, which has parallels in

^{41.} A setting very similar to that of Giovanni da Milano's panel is represented in an Annunciation by Barnaba da Modena in the Lindenau collection at Altenburg, dating, like the Giovanni da Milano painting, about 1350. For this parallel, I am indebted to Dr. Millard Meiss of Columbia University.

^{42.} Van Marle, op. cit., VII, p. 23, fig. 11.
43. Cf. the throne in a triptych of the Annunciation by a follower of Duccio, now in the Blumenthal collection, New York (Van Marle, op. cit., II, p. 91, fig. 55).

^{44.} Cf. the discussion of the origin and diffusion of this motive in the appendix.

^{45.} Max Dvořák, Die Illuminatoren des Johann von Neumarkt, in Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, XXII (1901), pl. xix; also a note on the possible origin of the motive in Hirn, op. cit., p. 283 and note 27.

^{46.} Fritz Burger, Die deutsche Malerei vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance, Berlin, 1913, I, pls. xi and xvii.

^{47.} Friedrich Winkler, Ein unbekanntes französisches Tafelbild, in Belvedere, XI (1927), p. 6.



Fig. 12—Prague, Landesmuseum: Liber Viaticus of Johann von Neumarkt. Illuminated Initial



Fig. 13—New York, Arthur Sachs Collection: Annunciation attributed to Avignon School



F16. 14—Hamburg, Kunsthalle: Detail of Grabow Altarpiece, by Meister Bertram



Fig. 15—Paris, Rothschild Collection: Fol. 16r of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, by Jean Pucelle



Fig. 16—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Breviaire de Belleville. Fol. 163v



Fig. 17 - Paris, Rothschild Collection: Hours of Jeanne de Navarre. Fol. 39r

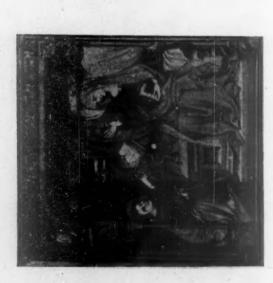


Fig. 18—Paris, Bibl. Nat.:
Breviary of Charles V.
Fol. 392r



Fig. 21—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Fol. 22r of Petites Heures du Duc de Berry, by Jacquemart de Hesdin



Fig. 19—Paris, Rothschild Collection: Fol. 1v of Très Belles Heures du Duc de Berry, by Jacquemart de Hesdin



Fig. 22—Brussels, Bibl. Royale: Fol. 18r of Book of Hours of the Duc de Berry, by Jacquemart de Hesdin



F16. 20—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Fol. 141v of Petites Heures du Duc de Berry, by Jacquemart de Hesdin

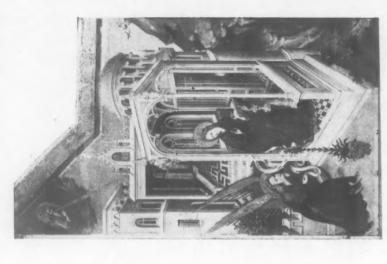


Fig. 23—Dijon, Museum: Left Wing of Altarpiece, by Melchior Broederlam

the Loeser Annunciation and that by Pietro Lorenzetti in Arezzo (Figs. 6 and 8). Again, the small nude Christ Child appears, this time darting toward the seated Virgin. A similarly conceived panel of the Annunciation, though without the Christ Child, is in the Cuvillier collection at Niort, 48 and attributed to the Dijon school between 1390 and 1400.

Representing the late fourteenth century in Northwest Germany is the Annunciation, painted by Meister Bertram for the Grabow altarpiece of 1379, now in the Hamburg Kunsthalle (Fig. 14). The background is abstract, without any architectural accessories, in which it differs from the examples of the second Bohemian style from which the figures apparently derived. This phase of the German development shows little if any influence of French painting, and the Grabow Annunciation may be considered as near to an indigenous Northern scheme as any that is known in the fourteenth century, save for the fact that the nude Christ Child appears, a motive that is Italian in origin. The Buxtehude altarpiece of around 1400, also in the Hamburg Kunsthalle, is a product of Meister Bertram's atelier, and reproduces the Grabow altarpiece scheme with some variations, chief of these being the addition of an aedicula over the kneeling Virgin. Even later, and revealing the influence of the Cologne school, is an Annunciation in Paris of about 1400 by a follower of Meister Bertram, in which the main features of the Grabow and Buxtehude altarpieces are embodied.

In France, manuscript illuminators of the early fourteenth century were not slow to recognize the vitality of the work produced by the great Italian painters, and a number of Italian iconographic details appear in French art of the period under consideration.58 The Annunciation on folio 16 of the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux by Jean Pucelle (Fig. 15), done between 1325 and 1328 and now in the Rothschild collection in Paris, is an example in point. Mâle has correctly referred to the kneeling angel as an Italianism, but he failed to observe that the whole scheme is taken over from Duccio's Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin (Fig. 5).58 The kneeling angel, the Virgin in an enclosed chamber with the beamed ceiling foreshortened in rather violent perspective and the curious anteroom in which the angel appears are undoubtedly derived from the Sienese panel, the general arrangement differing from the prototype only in that the angel is in the anteroom, behind the pillar that serves as a jamb, instead of having emerged from it. By taking Duccio's scheme for the Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin as his model instead of the Annunciation of Christ's Birth from the same ensemble (Fig. 4), Pucelle gave definitive form to a new type for the Annunciation, a type of which the details are all Italian in origin but assembled in a manner which is different from that in any Italian example. That Pucelle was not entirely uninfluenced by the traditional Italian type is apparent in the standing Virgin and the attempt to achieve a compromise between exterior and interior elements in the setting, the roof and gables being shown as well as the inside of the room. None-

^{48.} P. A. Lemoisne, Gothic Painting in France, Florence and Paris, 1931, pl. 26.

^{49.} See the discussion in the appendix.

^{50.} Fritz Burger, Hermann Schmitz, and Ignaz Beth, Die deutsche Malerei vom ausgehenden Mittelatter bis zum Ende der Renaissance, Berlin, 1917, II, fig. 518.

^{51.} Wilhelm Worringer, Die Anfänge der Tafelmalerei, Leipzig, 1924, fig. 53.

^{52.} Mâle, L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge, chap. 1, passim.

^{53.} Cf. Panofsky, Die Perspektive als "symbolische Form," p. 315, note 49; also Bella Maartens, Meister Francke, Hamburg, 1929, p. 85.

theless, the innovation of Pucelle's Annunciation arrangement is very great. His Northern background made it possible for him to disregard the Italo-Byzantine iconography of the setting, which Duccio had followed, and to create a new scheme for the traditional subject. How great that innovation was can be observed if the Rothschild Annunciation is compared with that on folio 103 of Vaticanus Urbin. 603,54 attributed to Pucelle by Delisle on the basis of stylistic similarities with the Bible of Robert de Billyng and Jean Pucelle (Paris B. N. ms. lat. 11935). In the Vatican manuscript, the Annunciation has a diaper background, a tradition with which the

Rothschild example very definitely breaks.

An Annunciation (Fig. 16) on folio 163v of the Breviaire de Belleville (Paris B. N. ms. lat. 10483) executed before 1343, is an interesting example of compromise between the earlier French Annunciation type and that developed by Pucelle. The manuscript is a product of the Pucelle workshop (his name appears on folio 33), but the miniature in question is probably by one of his assistants, for it reveals acquaintance with the details of the new Pucelle scheme without much understanding (the architecture shows an even greater confusion of exterior and interior elements). Closer parallels are the Annunciations in the manuscripts of the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, now in the Rothschild collection in Paris, of c. 1342, folio 39 (Fig. 17), and the Hours of Yolande de Flandre, fol. 13v, dated 1353; 55 for both have the angel kneeling in the anteroom while the rays of the Holy Ghost descend from God the Father, a half-length figure in a small chamber above. The Virgin is seated, however, and the gable of the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux is replaced in the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre by a balustrade in which musical angels are represented, while the entire upper story has been removed in the Hours of Yolande de Flandre. This arrangement also appears in the Annunciation (Fig. 18) on folio 392 of the Breviary of Charles V (Paris B. N. ms. lat. 1052), dated 1370-80, in which the architectural accessories to the room have been reduced to an ornamental, prosceniumlike frame, the angel kneeling in the anteroom before the seated Virgin while the nimbed figure of God the Father appears above.⁵⁶

In the sequence established by the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre and the Breviary of Charles V (Figs. 15, 17, and 18), a significant development takes place. The gradual elimination of the gable and the exterior features of the architectural setting has been noticed. With it goes a reduction in the relative size of the anteroom in which the angel kneels and the inclusion of various details of an interior setting such as the lectern and the curtains in the example from

54. Léopold Delisle, La Bible de Robert de Billyng et de Jean Pucelle, in Revue de l'art chrétien, LX (1910), p. 307.

dicates the intrusion of a non-French tradition for this particular scene.

^{55.} Now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The manuscript has been published by S. C. Cockerell, The Book of Hours of Yolande de Flandre, London, Chiswick Press, 1905. It is interesting to note that the semirealistic type of setting appears only in the Annunciation in the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, all the other miniatures having the traditional Gothic diaper background (cf. One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson, London, 1907, I, pls. xi-xviii and xx-xxiii), a fact which clearly in-

^{56.} Two further examples of the Pucelle Annunciation scheme are those in the Taymouth Horae (H. Y. Thompson, Some English Illuminated Manuscripts, London, Chiswick Press, 1902, pl. xvi), a manuscript of the first half of the fourteenth century that was apparently executed in England but by artists who were undoubtedly influenced by French models, and in a Bible Historiée in the Library at Leningrad (Ms. 5, 3, 19, tome 2, fol. 17; A. de Laborde, La Bible Moralisée, Paris, Société française de reproductions des manuscrits à peintures, 1911-27, IV, pl. 795), dated c. 1375 by Laborde,

the Breviary of Charles V (Fig. 18). It is apparent from this that in France as well as in northern Italy, attempts were being made to arrive at a unified interior setting. The next step after the Breviary of Charles V is seen in an Annunciation (Fig. 20) on folio 141v of the Petites Heures du Duc de Berry (Paris B. N. ms. lat. 18014), dating certainly before 1402 and probably about 1390, executed by Jacquemart de Hesdin. Here the general arrangement is that of the Pucelle tradition, but with the important difference that the column of the reëntrant angle of the anteroom has been broken off as if to suggest that the room and anteroom go to form one spatial unit. A similarly incipient unification of the Annunciation setting appears in the example on folio 22 of the same manuscript (Fig. 21). This miniature may not be by Jacquemart de Hesdin himself,⁵⁷ but is certainly by an artist quite conversant with Italian traditions, as is evident in the decorative figures of the border and in the architectural setting with side chambers recalling Duccio's (Fig. 4). But a new note is introduced in the ecclesiastical character of the architecture: the pointed arches, ribbed vaults, and traceried windows create the impression that the incident is taking place in a chapel. The Annunciation's ecclesiastical setting is the outstanding characteristic of its French iconography in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (just as an exterior is usually shown in Italy). That is suggested, for example, in the Annunciation (Fig. 22) on folio 18 of a manuscript that once belonged to the Duc de Berry (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. no. 719 or 11060/1), where, although the general quality of the setting (as well as the flying angel) is Italian in that it represents a porticolike structure, the churchly details are Gothic and Northern. In similar fashion, the Annunciation on folio IV of the Très Belles Heures du Duc de Berry (Fig. 19), in the Rothschild collection in Paris, also appears in a setting with an ecclesiastical air, thanks to the traceried Gothic windows in the rear and side walls, although the general arrangement is that of the Pucelle tradition (Figs. 15-18), with the angel kneeling in an anteroom opening into the Virgin's chamber.58

In the last four examples of the Annunciation that have been considered (Figs. 19-22), all by Jacquemart de Hesdin or coming from his workshop, there is considerable diversity in the settings. On the one hand, the Pucelle tradition is preserved in the Très Belles Heures (Fig. 19) and once in the Petites Heures (Fig. 20). On the other hand, a directly Italianate quality is apparent in the settings of the Brussels example (Fig. 22) and in the larger Annunciation in the Petites Heures

57. R. de Lasteyrie, Les miniatures d'André Beauneveu et de Jacquemart de Hesdin, in Monuments et Mémoires, Fondation Piot, III (1896), pp. 111-116. of a manuscript of Les Trois Pèlerinages by Guillaume de Degulleville (Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Geneviève, ms. 1150), reproduced by A. Boinet, Les manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris, in Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions des manuscrits à peintures, Paris, 1921, V, pl. xxxi, where it is erroneously described as the Annunciation although clearly distinguished as another subject by the context and the absence of the dove. The motive of the weaving Virgin appears in independent miniatures as a rule only in works of a discursive nature (like Les Trois Pèlerinages); in Books of Hours (Fig. 19 and the examples cited in note 35) it is made a subordinate theme to the Annunciation itself.

^{58.} In the initial D underneath the miniature of the Annunciation is a representation of the Virgin weaving while an angel bringing food descends from the sky, one of the subordinate motives related to the Annunciation commented on elsewhere (note 35) with regard to the angel type. The weaving theme is an old one, derived from the Apocryphal Gospels (see note 10), and provides the motivation for the spindle held by the Virgin in some Byzantine and mediaeval examples (Fig. 1). It is not unusual to find independent miniatures of the Virgin weaving, such as that cited in note 35 in the Grandes Heures du Duc de Berry. Another example is on fol. 165r

(Fig. 21), though not without some Northern elements in the Gothic details. In none of these examples can it be said that a thorough spatial unification has been achieved, even though it is suggested in the Petites Heures versions. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the last of the sequence, chronologically speaking, the Très Belles Heures example (Fig. 19), which is probably of the first decade of the fifteenth century, is in many respects the most retardataire inasmuch as it represents no significant change from the Pucelle type that we have seen in general use in France throughout the fourteenth century. We have thus to deal in the Jacquemart entourage with an Annunciation iconography in which elements derived from different sources have not yet been fused to form a new tradition.

A similar absence of complete synthesis of varying traditions is to be noted in the Annunciation by Melchior Broederlam on one of the exterior wings of the Jacques de Baerse altarpiece in the Museum at Dijon, painted in Ypres between 1391 and 1393 (Fig. 23). The chiaroscuro effects that suggest depth in the setting have often been commented upon. Less dramatic, but equally important in creating an effect of space, is the diagonal arrangement of the figures which carries with it the implication of a definite spatial unit, an implication that cannot be felt in most of the earlier examples, in which both figures move in a plane parallel with that of the picture itself. Otherwise the Broederlam panel is little more than an amplification of the Italian Trecento formula for the setting, a portico in which the Virgin is seated with the angel outside. As in the Jacquemart de Hesdin examples, the architectural details are Gothic and vaguely ecclesiastic, but the building is quite fanciful.

The Broederlam Annunciation is a unique example of the subject in pre-Eyckian Flemish painting on a monumental scale, but various versions in manuscripts reveal a similar employment of Italian and Northern characteristics not yet completely fused to form a new and individual type. Such is the Annunciation on folio Iv of the Hours of Milan; 50 in it the setting follows Italian models, and is much closer to the scheme in such a work as the fresco of S. Maria Novella (Fig. 9) than to that in examples of the Pucelle tradition. The most advanced stage in this method of representing the Annunciation setting appears in the example on folio 26r of the Chantilly Très Riches Heures (Fig. 24), done by the Limbourg Brothers before 1416. The incident takes place in an open portico with the angel outside, as in Italian examples, and the architectural details are curious combinations of Gothic and classic motives revealing Italian influence on the Northern artists. But the figures are arranged diagonally with respect to the picture plane as in the Broederlam panel (Fig. 23) and the portico has been turned to extend at an angle backwards into space toward the left. The ecclesiastical air of the setting, and the musical angels in the balcony above the portico, in the Pucelle manner, are Northern characteristics.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth century Annunciations that have been considered up to this point, a development can be traced leading toward a spatially unified setting, i. e. one in which both angel and Virgin are conceived as being in a single spatial unit. In Italian examples, the only one that achieves this effect is that by Giovanni da Milano (Fig. 10), for the dichotomy, actual in the portico setting where

^{59.} Hulin de Loo, Les Heures de Milan, Brussels, 1911, pl. 9.



Fig. 24—Chantilly, Musée Condé: Fol. 26r of Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, by the Limbourg Brothers



Fig. 26—Paris, Durrieu Collection: Miniature from the Book of Hours of the Order of the Holy Ghost, by the Master of the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut



Fig. 25—Paris, Jacquemart-André Collection: Fol. 53v of Book of Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut, by the Master of the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut



Fig. 27—Wildungen, Pfarrkirche:

Detail of Altarpiece, by

Conrad of Soest



Fig. 28-Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Exterior of Brenken Altarpiece



Fig. 29—Brussels, Mérode Collection: Mérode Altarpiece by the Master of Flémalle (Robert Campin)

Virgin and angel are separated by a pillar, or suggested in the North Italian examples, militates against it. In the Italianizing Northern schools, even when such men as Jean Pucelle and the continuers of his tradition down to Jacquemart de Hesdin employ a setting with interior implications, they always retain the double arrangement by having the angel placed in a re-entrant anteroom. This is true even of Jacquemart's miniature on folio 141v of the Petites Heures (Fig. 20), in which the supporting angle column is removed but the angel kneels in the space it would have marked off had it been left, and to a lesser extent of the one on folio 22r (Fig. 21) in which pendants similar to those in the miniature on folio 141v suggest a division of the space. In like fashion, the diagonal arrangement of figures and settings in the Broederlam (Fig. 23) and Limbourg (Fig. 24) Annunciations are not so much the indication of a unified space as of a feeling that there should be one.

The synthesis by which a spatially unified arrangement of the Annunciation was made possible takes place in French art in the work of the anonymous master who has been named by his execution of the Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut in the Jacquemart-André collection in Paris. In early manuscripts by this artist, 60 the Virgin is seated before a lectern in a cul-de-lampe, separated from the angel by the vase of flowers that is a usual detail in the scene after the thirteenth century. The next step is seen in the Annunciation of folio 53v of the eponymous Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut (Fig. 25) of c. 1407. Here the setting is conceived as the nave or choir of a Gothic ecclesiastical structure, the apse screened off by a panel bearing the Boucicaut arms, while the angel kneels in what would be the side aisle. In showing both the exterior and interior of the building, the work belongs to the older Pucelle manner (cf. Fig. 15), but it is significant that the angel kneels in front of the column marking the side aisle instead of behind it or in such a way that the column is between him and the Virgin. The vase of lilies has also been moved so that it does not come between the figures. A further development of this conception appears in the Annunciation in a Book of Hours by the Boucicaut master in the Corsini Gallery in Florence, 61 where the building is represented only as a partial section, with emphasis on interior details and relatively little attention to exterior ones. The Virgin is seated before the altar of a small Gothic building, and turns toward a kneeling angel, that has just come in through the opened-out side aisle. This opening-out of the side wall of the building may be a reference to the Italian portico setting, in which respect the Corsini example is less advanced than that in the Book of Hours of the Order of the Holy Ghost in the Durrieu collection in Paris (Fig. 26). Here there is no doubt that the incident is imagined as taking place entirely within the limits of a church interior. The arrangement of the figures and the vase of lilies is very similar to that in the Jacquemart-André example but the exterior of the building is not shown at all. The interior is unified spatially by the perspective rendering of the setting and dramatically by the absence of any element that would divide the figures. By thus synthesizing the disparate elements that characterize the Annunciation iconography

^{60.} Paul Durrieu, Jacques Coene, in Les arts anciens de Flandre, II, pl. facing p. 20; also Durrieu, Les Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut, in Revue de l'art chrétien, LXIII (1913), p. 309.

^{61.} Pietro Toesca, Manoscritti miniati della biblioteca del Principe Corsini a Firenze, in Rassegna d'arte, XVII (1917), p. 120.

in the other French and Flemish examples noted, the Boucicaut master created a new type and must be considered as great an innovator in iconography as Bella Maartens has shown him to be in his command of a realistic representative technique. 62

It has been pointed out above that the Annunciation scheme employed by Jean Pucelle in the Rothschild Hours (Fig. 15) was the basis for French iconography of the subject during the rest of the fourteenth century. In like fashion, the definitive statement by the Boucicaut master of the ecclesiastical setting established the type to be used in the fifteenth, although the lesser masters were unable to free themselves entirely from influences of the older Pucelle arrangement. In the Annunciation in a manuscript from the Boucicaut workshop (Morgan 455), the figures are clearly derived from those in the Durrieu manuscript (Fig. 26), and the details of the setting also correspond in the two examples; but a pillar divides the figures in the Pucelle manner. Likewise, the Rohan Master 68 shows the influence of the Boucicaut style in details, but without achieving the spatial unification that characterizes the work of the older artist, who was more advanced c. 1410 than the Rohan Master was a decade later. The same may be said of the Annunciation scheme that appears in manuscripts by the Master of the Hours of the Duke of Bedford, 64 active as late as the beginning of the fourth decade of the fifteenth century, in which the exterior of the building is still shown along with the interior.

In the examples of the Annunciation we have been considering, two general types can be distinguished, both of which continue through the fifteenth century. The first is that employed in Italy, where the setting usually contains some implication of an exterior, being either a portico or entirely in the open. The second is the ecclesiastical interior type, the evolution of which, and final definitive statement by the Boucicaut master, we have followed, and which was employed almost exclusively in France during the fifteenth century, exceptions usually being of the Italian exterior type. But if we now turn to examples of the Annunciation such as those in the Mérode altarpiece by the Master of Flémalle (Fig. 29) or the Ghent altarpiece by Jan van Eyck (Fig. 33), it is clear that the scheme there employed has little if anything in common with the French and Italian types. In them, the setting is a bourgeois interior, a room in a Flemish house, and the question arises whence could have come such a conception, for it is inconceivable that these masters, original geniuses though they were, could have contrived such ideas without preparation.

Various details of a domestic nature in examples of the Annunciation already considered are incipiently bourgeois. In the Boucicaut Annunciation (Fig. 26), the drawn curtain, the pot of flowers in the window embrasure, the hanging below the half-length figure of God the Father in the apse, and the cupboard are such details. Similar objects appear in representations of the subject by the Bedford master, 65 but

^{62.} Meister Francke, pp. 78, 84, 88, and passim.

^{63.} A. Heimann, Der Meister der "Grandes Heures de Rohan," in Städeljahrbuch, VII-VIII (1932), p. 7 and pl. 14.

^{64.} For references to this painter, see B. Maartens, Meister Francke, p. 241, note 222. For examples: V. Leroquais, Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Paris, 1934, pl. lxiii, for an illustration of fol. 440r of the Breviary of the Duke of Bedford, Sarum usage (Paris, B. N. ms. lat. 17294),

and F. Winkler, Die nordfranzösische Malerei im 15. Jahrhundert und ihr Verhältnis zur altniederländischen Malerei, in Belgische Kunstdenkmäler, edited by Paul Clemen, Munich, 1923, I, p. 267, for an illustration from another Book of Hours (Vienna, Staatliche Bibliothek, 1855).

^{65.} The Paris manuscript is dated between 1424 and 1435 (Leroquais, op. cit., pp. 275-6); it is therefore not impossible that the domestic details in the Annunciation might be the result of Flemish influence.

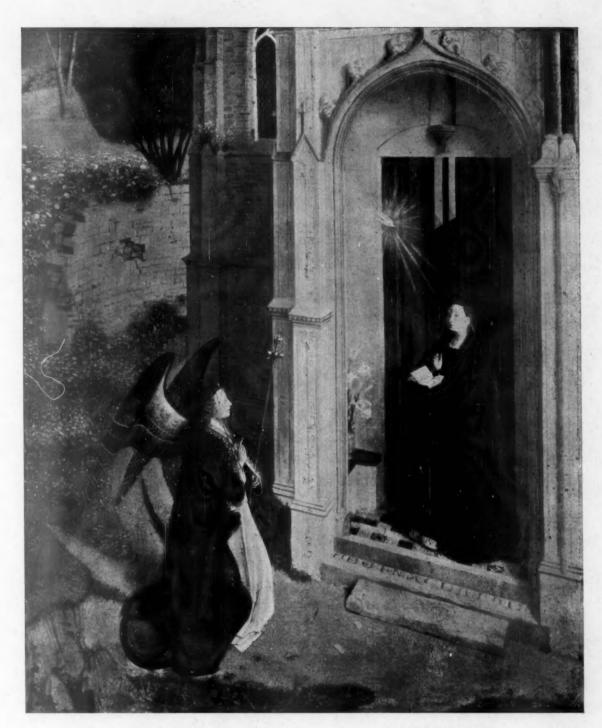


Fig. 30-New York, Metropolitan Museum: Annunciation, by Hubert van Eyck (?)



Fig. 31 - Washington, D. C., Mellon Collection: Annunciation, by Jan van Eyck



Fig. 32—Wiesbaden, Staatsarchiv: Miniature of Codex from Arnstein an der Lahn



Fig. 33—Ghent, S. Bavon: Exterior of Ghent Altarpiece, by Jan van Eyck

in all these instances they are only incidental to the generally ecclesiastical setting and it hardly seems possible that the great Flemish painters could have drawn the inspiration for their bourgeois interiors from French sources. In Italy the Virgin's bed occurs in the S. Maria Novella fresco (Fig. 9), the miniature of Morgan 3 (Fig. 11), and various other examples cited elsewhere. Furthermore, in the Morgan miniature and in the Annunciation from the panel by Giovanni da Milano in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome (Fig. 10), the setting is represented as a room, though without the many domestic details that appear in the Flemish examples. It seems, therefore that the scheme appearing in these examples was at least partially prepared in North Italian painting of the last half of the fourteenth century.

Yet another source of ideas contributing to the Flemish bourgeois Annunciation setting is in German and Netherlandish painting of the first three decades of the fifteenth century. In the altarpiece of 1414 by Conrad of Soest in the Pfarrkirche at Wildungen (Fig. 27), the Annunciation panel reveals the Virgin seated under a canopy 66 with a number of objects of domestic furniture such as books, a cabinet, and a prie-dieu with a tapestry hanging over it.67 An even stronger implication of a domestic setting is in the Annunciation in a codex with grisaille miniatures from Arnstein an der Lahn, now in the Staatsarchiv in Wiesbaden (Fig. 32). The text is in a Middle-Netherlandish script and is dated 1410; the miniature in question probably dates between that year and 1420.68 Here the Virgin is seated on a tester bed with the characteristic corner pendants that appear in many later Flemish examples. Without any further details, the artist has suggested very clearly the interior setting he imagined for the incident. A similar conception but carried further is that in the Annunciation on the exterior of the Brenken altarpiece (Fig. 28) in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, which is attributed by Schmitz to the school of the Cologne master Herman Wynrichs, on and must date between 1420 and 1430. A curtained bed appears in the back of a room, of which the whole interior is revealed, with its beamed ceiling, heavy joists, and diamond-paned windows. The figures are still separated, however, by the vertical molding of the edges of the wings, and a complete spatial unification is further prevented by the representation of the exterior battlement at the top of the panel.

It has been pointed out that one of the most important contributions of the Boucicaut master was his synthesis of the somewhat vague and indirect suggestions of an ecclesiastical setting for the Annunciation in French painting of the late fourteenth century. These he fused into a new iconography of the subject, which was to be current in France through the fifteenth century. In similar fashion, the Northern conception of the Annunciation in a bourgeois setting, fragmentary and inchoate in the examples just discussed, appears in a unified and definitive form for the first time in the Mérode

^{66.} The form of the canopy suggests comparison with those in works of the Bohemian and Avignon schools (Figs. 12 and 13), but is seems actually to have been copied from the miniature of the Death of the Virgin in a Boucicaut workshop manuscript (Morgan 455), a fact noted and pointed out to me by Dr. Erwin Panofsky.

^{67.} See also the Annunciation in an altarpiece

from Weildorf now in the Klerikalseminar at Freising (Burger, Schmitz, and Beth, op. cit., II, fig. 243).

^{68.} Dittmar Heubach, Grisaillen und Federzeichnung der ältslämischen Schule, in Etudes sur l'art de tous les pays et de toutes les époques, Strasbourg, Heitz, 1925, 5.

^{69.} Burger, Schmitz, and Beth, op. cit., II, pp. 379-80.

altarpiece by the Master of Flémalle (Fig. 29), whom most authorities now believe to be Robert Campin. Here there is no hesitancy in representing the scene in a full-fledged bourgeois interior, the appointments of which are portrayed as realistically as the objective Campin was capable of rendering them. This extends even to a careful relating of interior and exterior space, achieved by treating the frame between the central and left panels as a doorway outside of which the donor and his wife are kneeling and through which the angel has passed. At the same time, with an intuitive rather than an intellectual understanding of the spatial problems involved, the painter has worked in such a manner that the figures seem to have been created first and the space put around them afterwards with the result that the room appears somewhat overcrowded, an effect due to the violent perspective of the floor. Many of the details which seem at first glance to be only realistic adjuncts to the setting are actually symbolic in purpose. The water basin and the towel in the background (represented here for the first time in the Annunciation) are symbols of the Virgin's purity, although the artist could not resist the temptation to reveal his command of realistic portrayal by representing the towel as slightly crumpled. The single lighted candle symbolizes the presence of Christ's divinity at the mystery of the Incarnation, a somewhat parallel example being seen in Jan van Eyck's marriage portrait of his friend Jan Arnolfini,71 while a small nude figure representing the Christ Child also appears, darting from the window over the angel's head toward the reading Virgin.

The Mérode altarpiece can be dated within reasonable limits in the third decade of the fifteenth century by the fact that the donor was a certain Ingelbrechts 72 and by stylistic contrasts with the Werl altarpiece of 1438. It is later than 1420 and must have been done before 1430 for reasons that will appear later, and can thus be placed c. 1425. Its significance as the first complete embodiment of the essentially Northern bourgeois conception of the Annunciation setting has been mentioned; its importance in this connection can be deduced from the fact that in the subsequent development of Flemish painting, there is no Annunciation of first quality in which the setting is other

than a bourgeois interior except in very special cases.⁷⁸

70. In the most recent large contribution to the very extensive bibliography of the Van der Weyden-Flémalle controversy, Emile Renders (La solution du problème Van der Weyden-Flémalle-Campin, Bruges, 1931) disregards the demonstrable connection between the three artists of his title and Jacques Daret, a connection that does much to undermine his contention that the young Roger and the Master of Flémalle are identical.

71. Cf. Erwin Panofsky, Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait in the National Gallery, London, in Burling-

ton Magazine, LXIV (1934), pp. 117 ff.
72. According to H. von Tschudi, Der Meister von Flémalle, in Preuss. Jahrb., XIX (1898), p. 11, based on the identification of the coats of arms in the windows at the back of the room, the one to the right being that of the Ingelbrechts family of Malines and the one to the left of the Calcum-Lohausen family (the distaff side), one branch of which had its seat in the lower Rhineland.

73. The influential part played by the Mérode altarpiece in establishing the domestic interior Annunciation setting in Northern painting is indicated not only by the almost invariable employment of such a setting in posterior Flemish examples (as will be demonstrated later in this article) but also by the considerable number of copies and works which show a specific influence from the Mérode panel in details other than the setting. There is a replica in the Museum at Cassel (K. Voll, Die Meisterwerke der Königl. Gemälde-Gallerie zu Cassel, Munich, 1904, pl. 42). A panel in the Brussels Museum (Rassegna d'arte, XII, 1912, p. 109) follows the Mérode Annunciation very closely but with some variations; the coats of arms in the windows and the towel and ewer are omitted; a large brush hangs on the wall beside the fireplace, and the Christ Child is omitted. Both of these examples date from the fifteenth century. An Annunciation in the Pfarrkirche at Schöpingen (Burger, op. cit., I, fig. 133), by an anonymous Westphalian master of the early sixteenth century, is a provincial adaptation of the Mérode composition. In similar fashion, the Master of the Banderolles adapts the Flémalle scheme in an engraving in the

This fact has an important bearing upon the moot question of the existence of Hubert van Eyck, its immediate application being to an Annunciation in the Friedsam collection in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 30). The picture has been attributed to Petrus Christus,74 but is obviously of an earlier period than would be possible were he the artist. The stylistic and iconographic arguments by which Panofsky 76 has related it to Hubert van Eyck provide a much more logical attribution than the official one. The stylistic qualities of the painting can be summed up briefly as follows. The perspective is of the somewhat violent di su in sotto type that has been pointed out in the Mérode altarpiece (Fig. 29) and which is characteristic of those early masters, such as Broederlam (Fig. 23), who carried this particular spacerendering device to extremes by virtue of ignorance of the more mathematically logical systems that were even then being developed by their Italian contemporaries. A similar perspective method can be observed in those parts of the Ghent altarpiece which seem to be attributable to Hubert, to whom the Friedsam Annunciation is still further related by the figure style, particularly notable resemblances being those of the angel to the one in the Three Maries at the Tomb in the Cook collection. 76 Also in the manner of the Broederlam and Limbourg Annunciations (Figs. 23-24) is the oblique arrangement of the building in which the Virgin stands and the spatial implication of the diagonal relationship of the figures. Further, the setting is of the exterior type we have observed in the Italianizing Northern tradition of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, as contrasted with the indigenous French type, which employed an ecclesiastical interior, and the Flemish bourgeois setting. In view of all these considerations, it seems clear that in the painter of the Friedsam Annunciation, we have to deal with a man related to the Broederlam and Limbourg tradition and representing its most completely developed stage. That he could not have been Petrus Christus is obvious at once if the Friedsam picture with its wellcontrived atmospheric effects be compared with the arid and dessicated spatial rendering in the later painter's version of the same subject, " to say nothing of the

Hamburg Kunsthalle (M. Lehrs, Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert, Vienna, 1908-30, IV, 333), following his model with such unobserving fidelity that in the reversed impression of the plate, the angel salutes the Virgin with his left hand! Works of secondary importance of the fifteenth century also reveal the influence of the Mérode panel: a wooden relief in The Taymans collection in Brussels (Rassegna d'arte, XII, 1912, p. 110), a gilt and polychrome papier-mâché relief in the Schnütgen collection in Cologne (F. Witte, Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen, Berlin, 1912, pl. 37), and a gilt and painted terra-cotta relief of Netherlandish origin in Berlin (T. Demmler, Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, III, pl. 105, no. 7660). The nude Christ Child appears in the two latter examples. It may be of some significance with regard to the origins of the still enigmatic Flémalle Master that the influence of the Mérode Annunciation scheme seems to have been stronger in Germany than in either Flanders or France. If to this consideration be added that of the use of

the Christ Child motive in the Annunciation, a German connection for the Master of Flémalle becomes even more plausible since this motive seems to appear for the first time in Flemish painting in the Mérode altarpiece (though it must be admitted that the scarcity of Flemish painting before the third decade of the fifteenth century makes a definite conclusion regarding this fact impossible), while it was in constant use in Germany after the third quarter of the fourteenth century (cf. the appendix to this article).

74. Max Friedländer, Die altniederländische Malerei, Berlin, 1924-1932, I, p. 158, and Von Eyck bis Breughel, Berlin, 1921, p. 21. Bryson Burroughs and H. B. Wehle, The Michael Friedsam Collection, in Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, XXVII (1932), no. 11, pt. ii, p. 14.

75. Panofsky, The Friedsam Annunciation and the Ghent Altarpiece, in The Art Bulletin, XVII (1935), pp. 433 ff.

76. Friedländer, Die altniederländische Malerei, I, pl. xxxi.

77. Friedländer, op. cit., I, pl. liv.

totally different conception of the setting, which makes a date before the Mérode altarpiece unquestionable, probably c. 1420.78

The date of the Mérode altarpiece, c. 1425, marking as it does the first complete statement of the specifically Flemish iconography of the Annunciation, provides a terminus ante quem for yet another of the great early Flemish pictures the date of which is not known from documentary sources, the Annunciation by Jan van Eyck formerly in the Hermitage in Leningrad and now in the Mellon collection (Fig. 31). Here the setting is an ecclesiastical interior, in which respect it is related to the French tradition (cf. Fig. 25). The appearance of the French scheme in Jan's picture is easily accounted for by his attested activity for the dukes of Burgundy, a fact which also furnishes an explanation of the general resemblance of the setting here to the interior of the church of Notre-Dame at Dijon. That the Mellon Annunciation either antedated or was almost exactly contemporary with the Mérode altarpiece can hardly be doubted, for in the Ghent altarpiece, finished in 1432, the Annunciation on the exterior (Fig. 33) is set in a bourgeois interior of which many details were derived from the earlier Mérode panel. 79 Now it is difficult to imagine that a painter of Jan van Eyck's caliber could have employed the new bourgeois scheme in the Ghent altarpiece and then reverted to an older one for the Mellon picture,80 as would have to be assumed if the latter is dated after the former; and since the completion of the altarpiece must have occupied a great part of the artist's available time between the death of his brother (in 1426) and 1432, it seems very probable that the Mellon picture dates before 1426. A terminus post quem for the work is provided by the dating of the Friedsam Annunciation (Fig. 30) c. 1420. The Mellon picture must be later than this, for the perspective is less violent, although in other respects it is more closely related to the Hubert van Eyck manner than it is to that of the Master of Flémalle-who employed such perspective methods to the end of his career.81

The three Annunciations that have just been considered, the Friedsam, Mellon, and

78. As in the Mérode altarpiece, many of the details in the Friedsam Annunciation which appear at first glance to be only realistic adjuncts to the setting have symbolic meaning, as Panofsky has pointed out. For the part played in late fourteenth and early fifteenth century art by symbolic ideas disguised as realistic details, see also Panofsky, Der greise Philosoph am Scheidewege, in Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, N. F., IX (1932), pp. 285 ff., and Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait ..., in Burlington Magazine, LXIV (1934), pp. 117 ff.; also Karl von Tolnai, Zur Herkunft des Stiles der Van Eyck, in Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, N. F., IX (1932), pp. 320 ff.

79. As has been pointed out by von Tolnai, op.

cit., pp. 322-3.

80. Von Tolnai (op. cit.) fails to realize this when he says in speaking of the Ghent Annunciation: "Die ganze Fremdartigkeit dieser frühen [italics mine] Verkundigung innerhalb von Jans Oeuvre lässt sich an seiner späteren [italics mine] Verkündigung (Slg. Mellon früher Petersburg) ermessen in welcher der denkbar grösste gegenständliche Reichtum ausgebreitet ist," thus assuming a chronological priority for the Ghent Annunciation which it cannot have on

either iconographic or stylistic grounds. In speaking further of the domestic interior setting for the Annunciation in the Mérode and Ghent examples, he says, "weil in den früheren nordischen Verkündigungen keinerlei Ansätze zu einer bürgerlichen Ausstattung des Gemaches der Annuntiatio vorhanden waren, noch eine literarische Quelle dafür Anregung bot,' a statement that is correct regarding literary sources

but not concerning artistic ones.

81. A silver-point drawing representing the Annunciation in a church, in the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel, has been attributed to Jan van Eyck (Hildegard Zimmermann, Eine Silberstiftzeichnung Jan van Eycks aus dem Besitze Philip Hainhofers, in Jahrb. d. k. preuss. Kunstsamml., XXXVI, 1915, pp. 215 ff.) and dated soon after 1426. It should probably be termed Eyckian rather than by Jan van Eyck himself, and seems to be actually of a later period in the fifteenth century, c. 1440, by an artist acquainted with Jan's work (the Mellon Annunciation and the Berlin Virgin in a Church) but conforming to an older tradition in that he represents the exterior of the building as well as the interior; cf. the flying buttresses at the side.

Mérode examples, indicate quite clearly that there was no canonical iconography for the subject in Flemish painting during the third decade of the fifteenth century. All works of the highest quality and done within the short span of six years at the utmost, they represent the three principal iconographical traditions. In the Friedsam picture (Fig. 30), we have to do with the Italianate exterior scheme, vitalized by the new realism, it is true, but still the ultra-conservative conception that would be expected from a man like Hubert van Eyck, who was grounded in the old tradition and nearing the end of his career. In the Mellon Annunciation (Fig. 31), Jan van Eyck appears as a progressive conservative of cosmopolitan experience, adopting the new French scheme for the setting, and availing himself of the realism of perspective and atmospheric effects, but employing these innovations with the restraint that marks his work throughout his entire career. In the Mérode altarpiece (Fig. 29) we see the product of an artist who has been carried away by his delight in the realistic effects made possible by the recently achieved devices of modeling and the rendition of space, and who carries those effects to extremes, portraying the various objects with such plastic intensity that the cast shadow of the brass water bowl in the background niche is an accent no less powerful than the bowl itself, to point out but one example. The exaggerated perspective of the Mérode panel has already been noted and bears out by its contrast with the perspective in the Mellon picture the difference in temperament of the two artists, which is suggested by contemporary records if the Flémalle Master is indeed the Robert Campin whose "vie d'ordurière" has been quoted with so little understanding of the character of the whole Flémalle œuvre by Emile Renders. Et is also interesting to note that of this trio of early Flemish masters, only the Master of Flémalle employs the rather obvious symbolism of the nude Christ Child descending toward the Virgin, yet another detail that emphasizes the objective nature of his conception of the subject.

In employing a domestic interior for the Annunciation setting in the Mérode altarpiece, the Master of Flémalle gave definitive form to the conception of the subject that was to prevail in the Low Countries and Germany throughout the last three quarters of the fifteenth century and far into the sixteenth. That this was the setting which seemed to the Flemish temperament most appropriate for the subject is clearly demonstrated by comparing Jan van Eyck's Annunciation in the Mellon collection (Fig. 31) of c. 1426 with the one which he painted on the exterior of the Ghent altarpiece (Fig. 33), finished by 1432. In the earlier work, the setting is ecclesiastical, following the model of contemporary French examples; in the later one, there is nothing to suggest that type of setting. The derivation of the idea as well as many details of the Ghent Annunciation from the Mérode panel has been pointed out above, and it is not without significance that the painter universally acknowledged by his contemporaries to be one of the greatest of his time should have changed his conception of a subject so completely within the short space of time separating the Mellon and Ghent versions. It should not be deduced from this, however, that Jan van Eyck merely adopted the Flémalle picture as his model without variations. Characteristic points of difference are the avoidance in the Ghent picture of the plastic

^{82.} La solution du problème Van der Weyden-Flémalle-Campin, Bruges, 1931, I, pp. 103-4.

exaggerations that appear in the earlier work 88 and the more reasonable perspective. The four-panel division was imposed upon the painter by the arrangement of the interior, 84 but the whole is unified by the perspective treatment and the beautifully contrived plastic and atmospheric effects. The result is a convincing suggestion of space, an effect in which the frame plays an important part, vide the shadows cast upon the tiled floor in a fashion which parallels the somewhat similar device pointed out in the Mérode Annunciation. It should be noted, however, that in the Van Eyck panel we no longer feel that the figures and objects were created first and the space put around them afterwards, as the Master of Flémalle seems to have done, following the example of his faraway and indirectly felt Italian models. Instead, Jan approached the problem in the Northern manner, conceiving the space as a factor of equal importance and reality with the figures, and thus achieving a result more consistently real by virtue of its avoidance of the exaggerations pointed out in the Mérode panel. Symbolic details somewhat like those of the Flémalle painting appear in the Van Eyck panel, the crystal carafe in the embrasure of the distant window in the panel with the Virgin and the still life of towel and water jug in the one next to it, both references to her chastity. A further contrast in the personalities of the artists is apparent if the towel in the Ghent altarpiece be compared with that in the Mérode altarpiece: the Flémalle painter, treating it objectively, represents it slightly crumpled; Van Eyck, more sensitive to its spiritual implications, portrays it spotless.

The domestic interior setting for the Annunciation was used by Roger van der Weyden in both of the examples of the subject that can be attributed to him, that in the Louvre, 85 probably painted between 1433 and 1435 (Fig. 34), and that on the left

83. Compare, for example, the suspended water jugs in the two panels.

84. Beenken, The Ghent Van Eyck Re-examined, in Burlington Magazine, LXIII (1933), pp. 64 ff., and Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Genter Altars, Hubert und Jan van Eyck, in Wallraff-Richartz-Jahrbuch, N. F.

II-III (1932-33), pp. 176-232.

85. The authorship of this painting has been much disputed. F. Winkler once believed it to be a Roger school piece (Der Maister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden, Strasbourg, 1913, pp. 128 ff.), but more recently (Die altniederländische Malerei, Berlin, 1925, p. 75), he has expressed the conviction that it is by Roger himself. Concurring with Winkler's older opinion, von Tolnai (Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, N. F., IX, 1932, p. 338) attributes it to Roger's atelier. Friedländer (op. cit., II, p. 94) assigns it tentatively to Roger, saying that if it is by him, it must be dated about 1435. Jules Destrée (Le Maître dit de Flémalle: Robert Campin, in La revue de l'art ancien et moderne, LIII, 1928, p. 150, and Roger de la Pasture, van der Weyden, Brussels, 1930, p. 170) attributes it to the Master of Flémalle. Renders (op. cit., I, p. 86) assumes from the general similarity of some details in the Louvre picture and in certain works by the Master of Flémalle that the latter painter and Roger are one and the same, the painting in question being one of the points d'appui for his thesis that Roger = Flémalle; he dates it c. 1438 by reason of resemblance with the Werl altarpiece of that date. Von Tolnai, in commenting upon the problems raised

by Renders, agrees that various details of the Louvre picture were copied from works by the Flémalle Master but objects to an attribution to Roger because of the fact that the long bench with cushions is backed up against the fireplace in a "completely unreasonable" way, whereas similar pieces of furniture in the Mérode and Werl panels are treated more intelligently, from which he arrives at the conclusion that a painter of Roger's caliber could not have been its author. In answer to this, it should be noted, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. F. O. Waagé of Cornell University, that the fireplace in the Louvre picture has been closed by a movable screen, held in place by bolts that can be seen quite clearly, presumably because it was springtime (the 25th of March) and the fireplace no longer in use, under which circumstances placing the bench against it would not only not be unreasonable but actually a very sensible arrangement. For the rest, although I agree with von Tolnai's opinion that Roger and the Flémalle Master are separate personalities, I do not concur with him in accepting Renders' contention of similarities in the details of the Louvre and Werl panels. The carafe on the mantel and the spouted water jug in the Louvre painting (illustrated in detail in Renders, op. cit., II, pl. 56) are not of necessity copied from Flémalle pictures. Particularly is this true of the metal pitcher that Renders considers such conclusive proof of the identity of the two masters. One fact to be considered in this connection is that such subjects were made in great numbers in Bruges in the early fifteenth



Fig. 34-Paris, Louvre: Annunciation, by Roger van der Weyden



Fig. 35—Brussels, Bibl. Royale: Fol. 2 of Traité sur la Salutation Angelique, by Guillaume Vrelant



Fig. 36—Winterthur, Reinhart Collection: Annunciation



Fig. 37—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Hours of Louis de Savoye. Fol. 17r



Fig. 38—Arezzo, Annunziata: Annunciation, by Spinello Aretino



Fig. 39-Aix-en-Provence, Church of the Madeleine: Annunciation

wing of the Columba altarpiece in Munich, 86 of c. 1460. In both, the Virgin's bed is a detail of some importance that does not figure in either the Flémalle or Van Eyck

century and identical pieces might very easily have been among the properties of the two painters. Furthermore, Renders' claim that there are stylistic similarities in the manner of painting the jugs in the Louvre and Werl panels that would be impossible were they not both by the same painter need occupy our attention for no longer than it takes to compare them in his excellent plates, a comparison which shows that, even if the same jug had been used as a model for both paintings (not impossible since Roger worked as an apprentice in Campin's studio), the way it is painted is so different in the two works that it is inconceivable that the same hand should have been responsible for both. A still more conclusive argument against Renders' Roger = Flémalle thesis is furnished by a comparison of the methods by which spatial effects are obtained in the Mérode, Louvre, and Werl panels. In both the Flémalle pictures, the perspective is the violently foreshortened type commented upon above in connection with the Mérode Annunciation. In the Louvre picture, it is much more reasonable, and is combined with a soft, almost luminous, atmospheric quality in the representation of inanimate objects in the room that is notably different from the harsh plastic accents so characteristic of the Flémalle style. If Renders' thesis be correct, it would mean that the painter of these three panels developed from the Mérode manner to that of the Louvre panel by 1438, in which year he suddenly reverted to his older style in the Werl altarpiece. It seems worthy of notice that Renders has avoided this conclusion by omitting any detailed comparison of the Mérode panel with the Louvre and Werl pictures.

A more reasonable disposition of the Louvre picture can be made, it seems to me, if it be attributed to Roger and dated between 1432 and 1435, after he had completed his apprenticeship in the atelier of Robert Campin (if he is indeed the Rogelet de la Pasture mentioned in the Tournai document of 1427 cited by Renders, op. cit., I, p. 136) but before he settled in Brussels in 1435. The problem of these years, always a stumbling-block in Roger's chronology, is somewhat lightened by assuming his presence in Bruges at this time, an hypothesis which is justified by various considerations. First of all, it would be perfectly natural for a young painter who had just completed his apprenticeship with distinction to repair to the locale of the most famous painter of his time, Jan van Eyck, in this case, who was active at Bruges. Weight would be lent such an assumption if some influence of the Ghent altarpiece master on the style of the younger man could be observed, and such is the case. Two pictures by Roger can be attributed to this period. The first is the St. Luke Painting the Virgin in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, dated c. 1440 by Renders (St. Luc peignant la Vièrge, in Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1933, XXXI, no. 187, Oct., p. 3) by its supposed relationship to the Blandelin altarpiece, which, incidentally, he wrongly dates c. 1445; it must date after 1450 since it was painted expressly for the chapel in a castle which was not begun until that year (Destrée, op. cit., I, p. 161; II, pl. iii). Actually, the Boston picture

must date before 1435 at the very latest by virtue of its obvious relationship with Jan van Eyck's Virgin with Chancellor Rollin in the Louvre (Friedländer, op. cit., I, pl. xl) of c. 1430, a relationship that Renders mentions (op. cit., p. 74) without apparently recognizing its significance; its style has very little to do with that of the Bladelin triptych which is typical of that developed by Roger after his return from Italy. The second picture by Roger that dates from the period 1432-35 is the Louvre Annunciation (Fig. 34), in which again an Eyckian influence is very clear. The type of the Virgin is very close to that in the Chancellor Rollin panel. The bed in the background and the chandelier were inspired by details in the Arnolfini portrait of 1434. The water carafe on the mantel is very like that in the Ghent Annunciation. But even more than in such details is an Eyckian influence apparent in the increase in pictorial values in the Boston and Louvre pictures by comparison with the hard, sculpturesque accents in the Escorial Deposition (painted for the city of Louvain, Roger's former dwelling place, probably as a first commission to a native son after completing his apprenticeship, an incident paralleled by Massys' commission from the same city for the triptych of 1508 in the Antwerp Museum, and thus dated circumstantially but almost conclusively in 1432) in which the Campin influence is still strong. Further evidence for Roger's continued presence in Bruges at some time (and the period 1432-35 is indicated as the only one in which this might have been possible in view of the relatively detailed chronology after that time) is furnished by Albrecht Dürer, an authority whose integrity is unimpeachable (Renders, Hubert van Eyck, personnage de légende, Brussels, 1933, pp. 91 ff.). In the diary of the journey to the Netherlands (W. M. Conway, The Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer, Cambridge, 1889, p. 117), Dürer mentions seeing a chapel in Bruges decorated by "Rudiger," and in his sketchbook, a drawing (Lippmann 148) of a tile design very similar to those used by Roger appears at a point in the sequence that would make it appear quite possible that it was done in Bruges.

The weight of all this evidence is such that but one conclusion is possible: the Louvre Annunciation is by Roger, executed at a time when he was definitely under an Eyckian influence, a time that can be reasonably assumed to have been between 1432 and 1435, when Roger was very probably in Bruges, an assumption borne out by the relationship of the Louvre picture to the Rollin Madonna, the Ghent altarpiece, and the Arnolfini portrait.

86. Destrée, Roger de la Pasture, van der Weyden, pl. 103. An Annunciation in the Musée Royal at Brussels, one in the Antwerp Museum (Destrée, op. cit., pl. 114), and the Clugny altarpiece in the Metropolitan Museum (Destrée, op. cit., pl. 113) have also been attributed to Roger. All three have a certain morphological relationship to his oeuvre but can hardly have been painted by him. The Antwerp example reverses the composition of the Columba Annunciation, but so far as the wretched preservation

of the work permits one to see, the dignified sweet-

conceptions of the subject; Flemish painters of the later fifteenth century were to follow the Van der Weyden arrangement more closely than either of the other two, and the thalamus Virginis is an almost invariable feature of their representations of the Annunciation. An exception among Roger's Annunciations is, of course, the one in grisaille on the exterior of the Beaune altarpiece, in which the figures are similar in type to those in the Louvre and Columba examples but with the setting entirely suppressed.

It is now possible to formulate a definite conclusion concerning the iconography of the Annunciation in the early years of the fifteenth century. In those parts of Italy that were least susceptible to Northern influence, the exterior portico scheme with its pronounced dichotomy prevails, an arrangement which is not without influence even in the north of Italy, where attempts were made to combine it with an interior setting. In France the ecclesiastical interior to which the Boucicaut master gave definitive form is the favored setting. In the Netherlands and in Germany the bourgeois interior is used almost entirely. Exceptions must be made in all these cases for retardataire artists and those who were strongly influenced by alien traditions, who are proofs of the generalization rather than denials of its validity. The most interesting feature of Annunciation iconography of the latter part of the fifteenth century is the consistency with which these types are maintained.

In Flemish painting of the second half of the century, the Annunciation is treated more or less in accordance with the schemes developed by the great masters of the first half. The domestic interior setting is used almost exclusively, the preferred arrangement being along lines suggested by Roger in the Louvre and Columba examples. It is to the latter, for example, that Memling was indebted for the conception embodied in the Annunciation in the Lehman collection in New York, and the same was evidently the source of inspiration for the Gerard David school piece in the Detroit Museum of Fine Arts; while a host of examples by eclectics of the latter part of the fifteenth century can be adduced to show the influence of the

ness that characterizes Roger's later works has degenerated into affectation. The same can be said of the Brussels example, the setting of which should be compared with that in an Annunciation by an anonymous Netherlandish master of c. 1460, also in the Brussels Museum (Fierens-Gevaert, Les primitifs flamands, Brussels, 1908, I, pl. xlv). The Clugny altarpiece has been attributed to Roger by Destrée (op. cit., p. 168) and tentatively by Friedländer (op. cit., II, pp. 31, 106), who says that if it is by Roger, it is one of his latest works. Actually it appears to be a school piece for although the type of the Virgin is derived from Roger's latest style, the angel is much closer to his earlier manner, archaic in both type and pose. Again the austere sweetness so characteristic of the figures in Roger's last works has been sacrificed to blank symmetry of feature, nor is there the strength of character that appears in the master's forms. The types, particularly that of the Virgin, are very close to Memling's.

87. Destrée, Roger de la Pasture, van der Weyden, pl. 93. See also the Annunciation in the simulated sculpture in the archivolt of the panel to the lest in the Miraflores altarpiece (Destrée, op. cit., pl. 16).

The monumental, free-standing group of the Annunciation in the Madeleine at Tournai (Grete Ring, Beiträge zur Plastik von Tournai im 15. Jahrhundert, in Belgische Kunstdenkmäler, I, pl. 38) has been attributed to Roger himself by Maeterlinck, and does reflect his style, though proven not his by a document cited by Ring. Two grisaille examples by Jan van Eyck should also be noted, that on the exterior of the Zwinger triptych in Dresden and one in a private collection, published recently by Friedländer (A New Painting by Jan van Eyck, in Burlington Magazine, LXV, July, 1934, frontispiece and pl. i).

88. As in a Paduan Lectionary of c. 1440 (Morgan 180) fol. 26v (Fig. 40) and a panel by Giusto di Alemagna in S. Maria di Castello at Genoa, dated 1451 (L. Testi, La pittura veneziana, Bergamo, 1909-1915,

II, p. 267.

89. Formerly in the Radziwill collection, Berlin. E. Heidrich, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Jena, 1910, pl. lxxxi.

90. W. R. Valentiner, The Annunciation by Gerard David, in Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts, VIII, no. 8 (May, 1927), p. 92.

Roger scheme. 91 Even in the works of the outstanding figures of the period, the same generalization holds good. Petrus Cristus, leaving out of consideration the questionable attribution of the Friedsam Annunciation (Fig. 30), adopts a figure style related to Roger's in the example in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, 92 but substitutes a dry and arid, if correct, spatial effect for the luminous atmosphere that characterizes his great predecessor's works. Joos van Cleve also retains the Rogeresque formula for figures and setting in the Annunciation in the Metropolitan Museum, crowding into the panel a wealth of realistic detail of symbolic content, a characteristic feature of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century iconography. 93 The Annunciation of the Mérode altarpiece also exerted considerable influence on later examples, as has been mentioned above. 94 Of the three great Flemish masters of the early fifteenth century, only Jan van Eyck did not "make school" with his Annunciation type, a specific example of the general inability of later fifteenth century painters to grasp the full power of the style developed by the Bruges artist.

In Flemish manuscripts of the fifteenth century, the Annunciation is also represented, as a rule, in a domestic interior setting.96 Exceptions 96 can be found, however, in which the French ecclesiastical type is employed, exceptions which can be accounted for by the secondary rank of the art of illumination by this time, and the consequent lack of first rate artists in the field. An interesting example of the Annunciation in a manuscript which seems to belong in neither the Flemish nor the French category is that on the title page of the Traité sur la Salutation Angelique in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels (ms. 9270), executed for Philippe le Bon in 1461 according to Leroquais, 97 probably by the Fleming Guillaume Vrelant (Fig. 35). At the left of the picture, Philippe le Bon kneels under a canopy before the Annunciation, which is represented to the right under an open portico with elliptical Gothic arches. The general nature of this setting thus corresponds to the Italian portico type, but, in contrast with it, both the angel and the Virgin are placed within the portico which is raised slightly above the ground. The spatial unity achieved in the bourgeois interiors noted elsewhere (Figs. 31, 33 and 34) is thus preserved even though the

91. Cf. two Annunciations by Jan Provost, illustrated by Friedländer (op. cit., IX, pls. lxix and lxx), one in a hospital in Genoa, the other in the possession of a dealer in Berlin when observed by Friedländer; the former is of the pure Northern domestic interior type, while the latter shows an Italian influence in the separation of the figures, though the setting is Northern. Also an Annunciation by D. Bouts in the Prado (Friedländer, op. cit., III, pl. i), in which the figures reproduce the types in Roger's Louvre Annunciation (Fig. 34), and are placed under an arch obviously inspired by the sculptured archivolts of the Miraflores and St. John altarpieces and one by the same painter in the Hermitage (Friedländer, op. cit., III, pl. xxxviii), which resembles in its general arrangement the Berlin Petrus Christus Annunciation (cited in note 92). Two Annunciations by A. Bouts should also be noted for their relationship to the D. Bouts example in the Prado, one in the Severance collection in the Cleveland Museum, the other in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Friedländer, op. cit., III, pls. li and lii). Further examples of Netherlandish

late fifteenth century Annunciations showing the influence of Roger's models, particularly the Columba altarpiece, are cited in note 109.

92. Friedländer, op. cit., I, pl. liv.

93. Ludwig Baldass, Joos van Cleve, der Meister des Todes Maria, Vienna, 1925, pl. 51; also the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, XXVII (1932), p. 25. An interpretation of some of the symbolic details is given by Panofsky, The Friedsam Annunciation and the Ghent Altarpiece, in The Art Bulletin, XVII (1935), pp. 433 ff.

94. See note 73.

95. Examples are illustrated by A. W. Byvanck, La miniature hollandaise, The Hague, 1922-1925, pls. 45a, 74, 78a, 157, 195; by G. Swarzenski, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Einzelminiaturen des Mittelalters und der Renaissance in Frankfurter Besitz, Frankfurt a/M., 1929, pls. 58, 60; and by V. Leroquais, Le Breviaire di Philippe le Bon, Brussels, 1929, pls. doc. 16, 20, 40, 42, 57, 68. 96. Byvanck, op. cit., pls. 155, 156, 159, 177.

97. Leroquais, op. cit., p. 154.

setting itself is changed to meet the special requirements of a donor's title page. The idea of the portico as a raised platform may have been suggested by the slightly elevated stages on which mystery plays were currently performed.⁹⁶

The history of Annunciation iconography in Germany in the fifteenth century reveals in graphic fashion the derivative quality of painting in that country. About 1438, the Master of the Albrechtsaltar 99 still conceives the setting of the Annunciation in terms not unlike those of Conrad of Soest's Wildungen altarpiece, of 1414 (Fig. 27), or of the altarpiece from Weilsdorf in the Klerikalseminar at Freising, of 1419,100 in that it is rather abstract but with interior implications in the niche with a metal bowl and other domestic objects, an archaism which accords well with the putative Austrian provenance of the painting. 101 At nearly the same time, Konrad Witz was painting the Annunciation now in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg 102 under Flemish influence in a chamber which rivals for bareness, however, the panel by Giovanni da Milano (Fig. 10). In this respect, the Witz panel differs from that by an anonymous painter in the Reinhart collection at Winterthur (Fig. 36), to which an Upper Rhenish origin has been ascribed and a date of c. 1440.109 Here the Flemish influence goes beyond mere suggestion of a room interior and is responsible for details such as the curtain screening off the chamber at the rear, the pots and pans on the shelf to the left, and the towel hanging beneath them. The Cologne school of painters of the fifteenth century inclined toward a somewhat less meticulously detailed interior for the setting of the Annunciation than their Flemish contemporaries, preferring to enliven it with brocades and hangings. Such is the case of the Annunciation by Stephan Lochner in the cathedral at Cologne, 104 and likewise of two panels by anonymous Cologne masters of the first half of the fifteenth century, one in the Wallraf-Richartz collection at Cologne and the other in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg. 105 This Cologne formula continues in use in the last half of the fifteenth century in an Annunciation in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich by the Master of the Life of Mary, 106 the angel and the Virgin kneeling within an enclosure formed by two richly carved Gothic benches for sides between which is stretched a figured tapestry.

During the second half of the fifteenth century it is not unusual to find German

^{98.} Mâle (L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge, pp. 74-76) advances a similar explanation for the domestic (?) interior in the Annunciation on fol. 392 of the Breviary of Charles V (our Fig. 18). Apart from the fact that this interior is of the somewhat indeterminate character in current use by the followers of Jean Pucelle, there remains the consideration that such a setting can be accounted for as a development from Italian models, which in turn are derived directly from the Italo-Byzantine Dugento type. It can thus be explained satisfactorily without assuming an influence from the religious drama. At the same time, it is quite possible that the influence of stage representations may have confirmed iconographic habits that had their origin elsewhere. See also Leo van Puyvelde, Schilderkonst en Tooneelvertooningen op het einde van de Middeleeuwen, in Koninklijke Vlaamische Academie voor Taal-en Letterkunde, 1912.

^{99.} Otto Pächt, Österreichische Tafelmalerei der Gotik, Augsburg, 1929, pl. 12.

^{100.} Cf. note 67.

noi. A comparable persistence of an older type may be seen in the altarpiece of the Renoldskirche at Soest by a follower of Conrad of Soest, in which the arrangement is similar to that in the older painter's Annunciation of 1414 in the Wildungen altarpiece (Fig. 27).

^{102.} Burger, Deutsche Malerei der Renaissance, I, fig. 134.

^{103.} I. Futterer, Zur Malerei des frühen XV. Jahrhunderts im Elsass, in Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, XLIX (1928), p. 195.

^{104.} L. A. Scheibler, Geschichte der kölner Maler-

schule, Lübeck, 1894-1902, pl. xlvii.
105. H. Reiners, Die kölner Malerschule, Bonn, 1925, figs. 35 and 107.

^{106.} Reiners, op. cit., fig. 140.

Annunciations which employ the French ecclesiastical interior setting 107 as well as some in which the Italian exterior setting is suggested. 108 These are usually to be attributed to regions in which the respective foreign influences were strong, southern Germany and the Tyrol, for the most part. In the northern part of the country and along the Rhine, the Flemish scheme as it appears in Roger van der Weyden's work becomes more and more popular, to such an extent that only rarely is any other type found. The Roger formula was disseminated sometimes directly, through the works of such painters as Friedrich Herlin and his followers, 100 sometimes indirectly, through the medium of Flemish adaptations of it like those of Bouts, 110 who was particularly popular in the Rhineland. An example is the Annunciation in an altarpiece by the Master of the Lyversburg Passion in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg, dated 1464, the intrinsic relationship of which to the Roger type is strengthened by similarities between the accompanying Adoration of the Magi and that of the Columba altarpiece.¹¹¹ Even the great German masters of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries derive their conceptions of the Annunciation from Flemish sources though without the slavish copying of details that characterizes the work of their less important contemporaries. Thus, Schongauer 112 employs figure types that are ultimately Flemish, but in settings that are abstract rather than realistic. Dürer, on the other hand, complies with Flemish models in portraying the incident in a domestic interior.118

There are a few exceptions to the predominantly Flemish iconography of the Annunciation in German painting of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The Annunciation in the Isenheim altarpiece by Matthias Grünewald in the Museum at Colmar of c. 1510 is of the French type. The setting is the apse of a small Gothic chapel without side aisles although the screening-off of the space in which the

107. Cf. an Annunciation of c. 1465 by Friedrich Pacher in the Stiftsgalerie at Neustift in which the setting is a church interior although the Virgin kneels before a *prie-dieu* in front of a curtain that screens her off from the apse (Pächt, op. cit., pl. 64).

at Dinkelsbühl, attributed to Friedrich Herlin and dated 1466-68, and one by Hans Schülein in the church at Tiefenbronn, dated 1469; in both, the setting is a portico open at the rear to reveal a distant landscape (Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft für photographische Publikationen, IX (1903), pls. xia and xv).

and xv).

109. Three Annunciations by Herlin show an increasing influence of Roger van der Weyden's models, that in the altarpiece of 1459 from the Herrgottskirche in Nördlingen, that of the altarpiece of 1466 in the Jakobskirche at Rothenburg, and that of 1475-8 in the altarpiece of the Georgskirche at Nördlingen. In the earlier examples, the Roger influence is limited to the figures which resemble those in the Columba Annunciation while the setting is somewhat varied; in the Georgskirche example, the Columba arrangement is followed down to the smallest details (Ernst Buchner, Die Werke Friedrich Herlins, in Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, XIII (1923), pp. 1-51, figs. 1, 6, 21).

110. See note 91.

111. Reiners, op. cit., fig. 176. See also Burger, op. cit., I, fig. 37, for a graphic comparison of an Annunciation from the Hausbuchmeister's entourage with the one by Roger in the Columba altarpiece.

Martin Schongauer, Berlin, 1914, pls. 1 and 2). Bartsch 1 and 2 were evidently made by Schongauer to serve as models for other artists, either as the exterior wings of altarpieces or combined in a single composition. In the latter category is an Annunciation in the monastery at Wilten, near Innsbruck (Burger, op. cit., I, fig. 75), painted between 1485 and 1492 by a Tyrolese master, in which the angel and the Virgin are literal copies of B. 1 and 2 and the figure of God in the sky is taken from B. 3, the setting being Italianate, however, in that it is an exterior view of a chapel.

113. Two woodcuts, B. 83 from the Marienleben, and B. 19 from the Kleine Passion (V. Scherer, Albrecht Dürer, Klassiker der Kunst, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1904, pp. 198 and 221); two drawings, one of 1503 in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (Lippmann 442) which is a study for the woodcut B. 83, and the other, dated 1526, in the Musée Condé at Chantilly (Lippmann 344).

114. O. Hagen, Matthias Grünewald, Munich, 1919, fig. 52.

Virgin is seated carries with it a somewhat intimate and domestic implication. The Italian scheme also appears in German painting of the period in question in an Annunciation by the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines in the Auspitz collection in Vienna, ¹¹⁵ a Gothic pilaster separating angel and Virgin and resulting in a curious combination of the Northern interior setting with a portico or anteroom that is reminiscent of Italian models.

In France during the fifteenth century, the Northern bourgeois Annunciation setting is practically unknown before the very end of the period, save for one or two special cases. For the most part, the ecclesiastical interior that received its definitive statement by the Boucicaut master prevails (Figs. 25 and 26) although an occasional example can be found in manuscript illumination with an abstract, figured background. Even in this field, however, French artists followed, in general, the paths indicated by the Rohan and Bedford masters of the first half of the fifteenth century and used an ecclesiastical setting with variations upon the Boucicaut type. The Flemish domestic interior was known to French illuminators of the period in question, though it is usually implied rather than represented in detail. An exception to this is the Annunciation in the Miracles de Notre-Dame by Jean Mièlot, a monk of Lille and secretary to Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, which was executed between 1449 and 1462. Here the setting is a domestic interior which is clearly the result of a direct Flemish influence no less than the figures which derive from an Eyckian milieu.

The consistent adherence by French painters to the ecclesiastical interior setting makes such variations from it as the Jean Mièlot example just cited particularly interesting. The Italian exterior setting also persists, examples being not uncommon in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the latter part of the century, however, they are very rare, and when they occur, a direct Italian influence can usually be assumed on the basis of other details. Such is the case of the Annunciation on folio 20

^{115.} Friedländer, op. cit., V, pl. 31.

^{116.} Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 469, fol. 13, before 1430; H. Martin, La miniature française, Paris and Brussels, 1923, pl. xcix. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 417, fol. 24, fifteenth century; H. Martin and P. Lauer, Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibl. de l'Arsenal à Paris, Paris. Société franç. de reprod. des mss. à peintures, 1929, pl. lxxx. Paris, B. N., ms. lat. 1370, fol. 47, end of fifteenth century; V. Leroquais, Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la

Bibl. Nat., Paris, 1927, pl. xcvii.

117. Paris, B. N., ms. lat. 1156B, fol. 31, c. 1430;
A. Blum and P. Lauer, La miniature française aux XVe et XVIe siècles, Paris and Brussels, 1930, pl. ix. Chantilly, Musée Condé, Hours of Étienne Chevalier, 1452-60; Gruyer, Chantilly: Notice des Peintures; Les Quarante Fouquets, 1900, pl. lv. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 1192, fol. 280, fifteenth century; Martin and Lauer, op. cit., pl. liii. Paris, B. N., ms. lat. 1162, fol. 42; Leroquais, op. cit., pl. xxxiii. Paris, B. N., ms. lat. 920, fol. 52, c. 1480; Leroquais, op. cit., pl. lxxv.

^{118.} Chantilly, Musée Condé, Hours of Adelaide

de Savoye, 1450-60; J. Bouissounouse, Jeux et travaux d'après un Livre d'heures du XVe Siècle, Paris, 1925, pl. xxvi. The setting in this example represents n rather awkward compromise between the French and Flemish types, the Virgin being seated before her bed which stands in the nave of a church. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 416, fol. 18v and 19r, late fifteenth century; G. Ritter and P. Lefond, Manuscrits peints de l'école de Rouen: livres d'heures normandes, Paris, 1913, pl. lxx. The Hague, Bibliothèque, ms. 76F14, fol. 19, c. 1495, probably made in Paris by Jean Pichoire; W. A. Byvanck, Les principaux manuscrits à peintures des bibliothèques de la Haye, Paris, Soc. franç. de la reprod. des mss. à peintures, 1924, VIII, pl. xl. Paris, B. N., ms. lat. 1166, fol. 21v; Leroquais, op. cit., pl. cvi.

^{119.} V. Leroquais, Le Breviaire de Philippe le Bon, pp. 154, 165. The example is illustrated in Jean Mièlot, Miracles de Notre-Dame (Paris, B. N., ms. fr. 9198), edited by H. Omont, Paris, 1906, pl. iv.

^{120.} As in two Books of Hours in the Morgan Library (nos. 157 and 399), illustrated in Panofsky, The Friedsam Annunciation..., figs. 15 and 16.

of a Book of Hours in the British Museum, ¹²¹ the setting of which is ecclesiastical, but with Italianate architectural details and a very definitely Italian quality in the border ornament. Even more surprising is the example on folio 17 of the Hours of Louis de Savoye (Fig. 37), which dates from the middle or second half of the fifteenth century. ¹²² Here the Virgin is kneeling under a portico and is separated from the angel by one of the arcade columns. The pseudo-ecclesiastical architecture is liberally decorated with sculpture and the arches are the three-centered type in current use in France in the fifteenth century. But the parapet surmounting the first story has a curiously Italian quality and the same may be said for the foliate border of the page. It seems likely, therefore, that we have to deal here (and in the British Museum Add. Ms. 29433) with Italian artists working in France, adopting the French setting, but executing it with details to which they were traditionally accustomed. ¹²³

For the purpose of this study, it is particularly fortunate that one of the outstanding examples of French fifteenth century panel painting should be an Annunciation, the example referred to being that in the church of the Madeleine at Aix-en-Provence (Fig. 39). The identity of the painter and the date of the work are both unknown from documentary sources, but it has been dated c. 1443. Its author would thus be contemporary with the great German and Flemish masters of the second generation in the fifteenth century, such men as the Master of Flémalle and Jan van Eyck in Flanders, Stephan Lochner, Konrad Witz, and Lucas Moser in Germany. The figure style has some relationship to that of Witz in the sharp, angular drapery folds, and

121. London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 29433, fol. 20 (Schools of Illumination; Reproductions from the Manuscripts in the British Museum, VI, London, 1930, pl. vii). The setting in this example is a compromise between French and Italian types, for while it is an ecclesiastical interior, Gabriel and the Virgin are separated by the whole width of the nave, appearing as they do in small arcaded porticoes in the side aisles. The style of the architecture is Italian, and the same can be said for the foliate border and the genre group of the dog and cat playing on the floor of the church.

122. Paris, B. N., ms. lat. 9473, fol. 17. See Leroquais, Les livres d'heures mss. de la B. N., 1, pp. 293 ff.

123. A somewhat similar anomaly is presented by the Annunciation in the Prado (Friedländer, Die altniederländische Malerei, II, pl. xlv) which has been attributed to the Master of Flémalle, chiefly by virtue of similarities between the Virgin in it and the one in the Mérode Annunciation (Fig. 29). It is difficult to accept this attribution for the following reasons. If the panel is by the Flémalle master, it is inconceivable that it should postdate the Mérode altarpiece of c. 1425 since the scheme of the latter is an advance, from the Flemish viewpoint, over the Italo-French, semi-ecclesiastical, semi-exterior setting with which we have here to deal, in the same way that the Ghent altarpiece Annunciation (Fig. 33) represents an advance over the Mellon Annunciation (Fig. 31). However, the style of the figures in the Prado painting is such that it seems to be later than the Mérode example, the sort of thing that would be expected from a painter of about the middle of the century

who was working with the Flémalle picture in mind. The mélange of types in the setting, domestic details in an ecclesiastical interior with the exterior of the building somewhat emphasized, suggests that the painting might be the work of an Italo-French follower of the Flémalle master.

Two examples should be noted of an interesting variation of the Annunciation theme, the Angelic Salutation taking place to the accompaniment of a mutual embrace in Heaven of Mercy and Truth, Peace and Justice, while the celestial choir sings its divine harmonies. They are in French manuscripts of the fifteenth century, Paris, B. N., ms. fr. 244, fol. 4 (Mâle, L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge, p. 44), and Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 412, fol. 1 (Leroquais, Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Paris, 1924, pl. lxxxv). Male sees an influence of the religious drama in this conjunction of scenes, and the composition of the miniature he reproduces does seem to reflect an arrangement of figures on a stage. It is less easy to see this in the other example, however, and it should be borne in mind that the sequence of events portrayed in the miniatures is mentioned in the Meditationes vitae Christi by the Pseudo-Bonaventura (cap 1), the probable origin of the iconography (cf. Fig. 35 and note 98).

124. Labande, Les primitifs français, pp. 145 ff. The bibliography of the controversy concerning the identity of the master of the Aix Annunciation is cited by L. Demonts, Le maître de l'Annunciation d'Aix et Colantonio, in Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, LXVI (1934), pp. 131 ff.

to the Master of Flémalle in the type of the Virgin, who should be compared with the Virgin in the Nativity by the same master in the Museum at Dijon. But the ecclesiastical setting is specifically French and treated in such a way that it seems hardly possible that the painter was not a Frenchman, the stylistic affinities with German and Flemish works being easily explained by the interplay of alien influences to which the Provençal school was always susceptible. Interesting details are the sculptured prophets in the architectural ornament, symbolizing the Old and New Dispensations, the nude Christ Child bearing a cross Who slides down the rays of light toward the Virgin, and the monkey grimacing toward Him that serves as a finial to the pulpit. Not only does the Aix Annunciation conform to the French tradition, but the domestic scheme favored in the Netherlands does not appear in French panel painting until the close of the fifteenth century.

In Italy the exterior portico setting for the Annunciation continued in current use in the central Italian schools through the fifteenth century. Thus, there is no essential difference between Spinello Aretino's version of the subject in the Annunziata at Arezzo (Fig. 38) and the somewhat earlier example in S. Maria Novella in Florence (Fig. 9) save for the more evenly divided space, both angel and Virgin appearing in a portico of which the pillar that divides them stands nearly in the center of the picture. Again, the nude Christ Child appears; and, in the lunette, Gabriel is seen taking his departure from heaven toward earth, as in the twelfth century miniature from the Homilies of Jacobus. The persistence of the exterior portico is such that even so individual an artist as Piero Pollaiuolo preserves it intact in his Annunciation of

125. F. Winkler, Die altniederländische Malerei, fig. 32, p. 66.

126. Both Hulin de Loo and Lionello Venturi are in error on this point. The former (L'Exposition des primitifs français au point de vue de l'influence des frères Van Eyck sur la peinture française et provençale, Brussels, 1904, p. 36) says, "Essentiellement flamande est la conception elle-même de l'oeuvre; cette composition symbolique qui place l'Annonciation dans le vestibule de l'Église," citing the altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments and the Fall and Redemption panels in the Prado, all three by Roger van der Weyden, and the Marriage of the Virgin and the Annunciation, also in the Prado, by the Master of Flémalle, as parallel instances of ecclesiastical settings. This reference is given by Venturi (Studii Antonelliani, in L'Arte, XI, 1908, pp. 443-450) for his authority when he says in comparing the Aix Annunciation with that by Antonello da Messina in the Museum at Syracuse (our Fig. 41), ".... la scena è posta nel vestibolo della chiesa (concetto fiammingo per simboleggiare la chiesa fondata da Cristo) ... Antonello o non capisce o non cura il concetto simbolico, trasforma la chiesa in una camera." But as we have seen, all the evidence indicates that the Flemish iconography for the Annunciation in the fifteenth century called for a domestic interior setting while an ecclesiastical setting of the type seen in the Aix Annunciation is specifically French. The only Annunciation cited by Hulin de Loo is the Prado panel which he attributes to the Master of Flémalle although,

as we have observed elsewhere (note 123), it presents variations from the traditional Flemish iconography of the subject which justify some doubt as to this. The other examples mentioned by him carry no weight as parallels for the iconography of the Annunciation.

127. See Panofsky, *The Friedsam Annunciation...*, pp. 446 ff., for a discussion of this theme in fifteenth century painting.

128. See also an Annunciation in fresco in the cloister of the Abbaye d'Abondance (Haute-Savoie), dated 1480-90, Bulletin Monumental, XC (1931), p. 241.

129. The ecclesiastical setting appears in an Annunciation in the Musée Calvet in Avignon (Lemoisne, Gothic Painting in France, pl. lxviii) of the Provençal school of the end of the century, although the architecture is no longer Gothic, but a curious, semi-Renaissance composition of piers, semicircular molded arches, and a dome on pendentives. In like fashion, the setting of the Maître de Moulin's Annunciation in the Ryerson collection in Chicago (J. Guiffrey and P. Marcel, La peinture française, les primitifs, Paris, 1926, I, pls. liii and liv) is in an ecclesiastical Renaissance style, though with some domestic details. One of the first instances of a domestic Annunciation setting in French panel painting is the example, provincial in some respects, in Lieuche (Rassegna d'arte, XII, 1912, p. 84).

130. A terra-cotta relief in the cathedral at Arezzo reproduces the general arrangement of the Annunziata fresco (G. Franciosi, Arezzo, Bergamo, 1909, p. 77).

c. 1470 in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. 181 It seems sometimes at first glance that the artist has represented the Annunciation in an interior, but, on closer examination, the roof of the building is seen, usually with God the Father above. 182 Leonardo da Vinci even goes so far as to eliminate the portico altogether in his Annunciations in the Uffizi and the Louvre and reverts to a type which is close to that of the Italo-Byzantine tradition with respect to the setting. 188

Northern conceptions of the Annunciation appear to have influenced Italian masters of the fifteenth century chiefly in details, and only those masters specially predisposed, such as those of the International Style. Lorenzo Monaco, 184 for example, sets his figures outside a building that is placed obliquely to the picture plane, as we have seen it in the Broederlam, Limbourg, and Friedsam Annunciations (Figs. 23, 24 and 30), although he also employs a type in which the portico scheme is retained. 185 The oblique arrangement of figures and building also appears in two Annunciations by Giovanni dal Ponte. 136 The Virgin's bed also appears in the background in a number of Annunciations by Italian propagators of the International Style. It is represented in considerable detail in Pisanello's magnificent fresco of 1424-1431 on the chancel arch of S. Fermo at Verona, and in a panel by a follower of Fra Angelico in S. Martino a Mensola; 187 and it is discreetly suggested behind the figures in Masolino's Annunciation in the Goldman collection in New York. 188 As this detail is apparently one of the Italian contributions to the conception of the Annunciation setting it is no evidence of outside influence.

The influence of Northern conceptions of the Annunciation in Italian art goes beyond details in two examples. The first is a miniature on folio 26v of a lectionary according to the Paduan usage in the Morgan Library (no. 180; 7 in the catalogue), which dates from about 1440 (Fig. 40). The artist was evidently a North Italian, copying a Franco-Flemish manuscript which in turn reveals the influence of the Master of Flémalle. This is evident in the Annunciation miniature, for the towel appears in the background of the domestic interior setting, a detail which first appeared in the Mérode altarpiece. Even without such corroboration, the appearance of an interior setting for an Italian Annunciation is indicative of some relationship with the Northern tradition. The dividing pillar with its two arches in the foreground is specially Italian. The second instance of an Italian Annunciation with extensive foreign influence is that by Antonello da Messina in the Museum at Syracuse (Fig. 41). It dates from 1474 and has been compared with the Aix Annunciation 199 chiefly on the basis of the

^{131.} Van Marle, op. cit., XI, p. 395. 132. Cf. an Annunciation by Bicci di Lorenzo in the parish church at Porciano dated 1414 (Van Marle, op. cit., IX, p. 3), and one by Paolo di Stefano in S. Andrea at Brozzi of c. 1426 (Van Marle, op. cit., IX, p. 43).

^{133.} Cf. the Annunciation in the altarpiece by the St. Peter master in the Accademia at Siena (Van Marle, op. cit., I, pl. facing p. 378).

^{134.} Annunciation of 1398-1400 in the Stoclet collection in Brussels and that of c. 1410 in the Accademia at Florence (Van Marle, op. cit., IX, pp. 125 and 152).

^{135.} Annunciation in S. Trinita, Florence (Van Marle, op. cit., IX, p. 159).

^{136.} One in the church at Rosano, the other in the Vatican (Van Marle, op. cit., IX, pp. 81 and 82).

^{137.} F. Schottmüller, Fra Angelico da Fiesole Klassiker der Kunst, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1911, pl. 221.

^{138.} Van Marle op. cit., IX, p. 292, fig. 187.

^{139.} L. Venturi, Studii Antonelliani, in L'Arte, XI (1908), pp. 443-50. J. Lauts, Antonello da Messina, in Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, N. F. VII, (1933), pp. 15-88. It is difficult to see any very close connection between the Aix and Syracuse panels, at least from an iconographic point of view. As to stylistic similarities, these are adduced chiefly by those critics who would see Colantonio in the Aix Master, and who seek to establish a connection

figure style and the column separating the two figures. But we have already seen that the figure style of the Aix picture is related to that of the Flemish masters and that the dividing column is characteristic of Italian iconography. Furthermore, Antonello's setting, apart from the column, is a domestic interior, which might come directly from Flemish sources easier than through such a modification of the Aix ecclesiastic interior as Venturi suggests. Actually, the figures seem to derive from some Rogeresque work while the setting is related to that of Jan van Eyck's Annunciation in the Ghent altarpiece (Fig. 33). Antonello's Annunciation accords well with the generally Flemish quality of his style and is one of the few examples in Italian fifteenth century painting of the typically Northern bourgeois setting for the scene.

Sculptured examples of the Annunciation have not figured in the foregoing discussion because such settings and backgrounds are inappropriate to sculpture. In the monumental groups by the Tuscan Trecento and Quattrocento masters, there is no real parallel to the painted examples. Annunciations in relief follow the same general types as those that have been examined in painting and contribute little if anything that is new. Not until the sixteenth century, in such examples as that by Conrad Meit in the church at Brou, are in Flemish retables, or in the small wooden reliefs of the Suabian school, does any significant material in sculpture become available, and it, for the most part, only supplies corroborative evidence for the devolopment here traced in painting.

In conclusion, we may say that the iconographical traditions of the late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance are as definite as those of previous periods, but distinguished from them in that they are traditions of types rather than of details. The occurrence of standing or kneeling figures, of raised or lowered hands is no longer the basis of comparison, but the conception of the composition as a whole. It follows that the development and interplay of types must be considered in a large and general way, a necessity which is also a result of the extended scope of the material and the many examples that are available. The many apparent variations from type, that are an inevitable concomitant of this, are usually individual. Though the fourteenth and fifteenth century artists had much more freedom than their immediate predecessors in the plastic realization of their ideas, they unconsciously conformed to traditions, and their significance consists in the way their works are both invested with and set out against those traditions.

between his style and that of the Syracuse panel by his pupil (cf. the bibliography cited by Demonts, referred to in our note 124, and particularly C. Aru, Colantonio, ovvero il "Maestro dell' Annunziazione di Aix," in Dedalo, XVI, 1931, pp. 112-14).

140. Van Marle, L'Annonciation dans la sculpture monumentale de Pise et de Sienne, in Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, LXV (1934), pp. 111-126 and 165-182.

141. In the Retable de Sept Joies (Victor de

Mestral Combremont, La sculpture à l'église de Brou, Paris, Massin, 1912, pl. 38).

142. Cf. a sixteenth century retable in the Brussels Musée Communal (Henry Rousseau, L'Art ancien bruxellois, in Les arts anciens de Flandre, II, pl. facing p. 102).

143. Demmler, Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums, III, no. 386, from the Rosenkranztafel in Nuremberg; no. 434, a wooden relief of c. 1520, the composition based on the Dürer woodcut, B. 19, from the Kleine Passion.

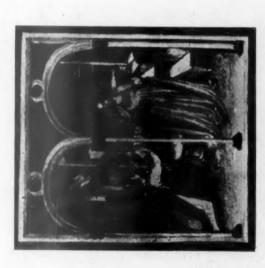


Fig. 40-New York, Morgan Library: Lectionary of the Gospels and the Mass. Fol. 26v



Fig. 41—Syracuse, Museum: Annunciation, by Antonello da Messina



Fig. 42—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Belgian-Rhenish Ivory Plaque



Fig. 43—Oxford, Bodleian Library: Bible Moralisée. Fol. 59r



Fig. 44—Florence, Accademia: Detail of the Tree of Life, by Pacino da Buonaguida



Fig. 45—Munich, Staatsbibliothek: Book of Hours of Blanche de Savoye. Fol. 8v

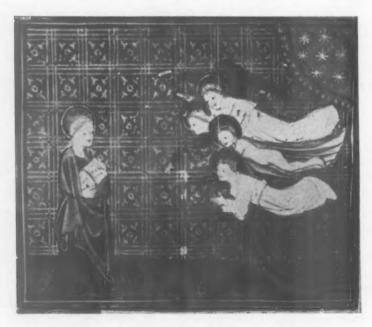


Fig 46—Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève: Les Trois Pèlerinages. Fol. 166v

APPENDIX

THE MOTIVE OF THE CHRIST CHILD IN THE ANNUNCIATION

The Christ Child that appears, in addition to the traditional Virgin, angel, and dove of the Holy Spirit (Figs. 12, 13, 14, 28, 29, 38 and 39), in some fourteenth and fifteenth century Annunciations has sometimes been mentioned,144 but, to my knowledge, only one suggestion has been made as to its origin.145

One of the earliest Annunciations in which a detail appears that is comparable to that with which we are now concerned is an ivory plaque in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Fig. 42), assigned tentatively by Goldschmidt to a Belgian-Rhenish atelier and dated c. 1100.146 The seated Virgin and the angel (holding the orb in his left hand) are placed under a twoarched arcade, surmounted by a third arch from which the dove descends vertically in a line between the figures beneath, instead of flying toward the Virgin in the usual manner. At first glance, the dove appears to be holding a chain in its beak from which there seemingly depends a crescent containing a longhaired, beardless bust, identified by Goldschmidt as Christ in a half-moon.147 If this identification could be accepted, we would have a motive comparable to that in the later examples, but there are several objections to such an identification. The bust is not nimbed, which is inconsistent with the iconography of the period. Even if it represents Christ, placed here to indicate the relationship of the dove to the figures beneath, there are difficulties. The chief of these is that what seems a chain is probably only a molding between the arches; consequently, there is no connection between the dove and the bust, while Child and dove regularly appear together in the rays of light directed toward the Virgin. It seems probable, therefore, that the bust in the Berlin plaque has no symbolic significance but is an arbitrary decorative adjunct. As for the crescent, it is not uncommon to find in contemporary manuscripts such arcades in which the tangent arches terminate in inverted cones,148 and it seems probable that such is the function of the moon-shaped object here.149

Adelheid Heimann suggests the origin of our motive is in the Bible Moraliste, the specific example being the manuscript now divided between the Bodleian Library (270b), the Bibliothèque Nationale

(ms. lat. 11560), and the British Museum (Harley 1527), with no less than six relevant miniatures. 150 The manuscript, which has been dated in the first half of the thirteenth century, contains an extensive series of miniatures, arranged in coupled medallions, representing Old and New Testament subjects with appropriate moralizations. Thus, Pharaoh clothing Joseph in a linen coat (Gen. xli: 42; Oxford, Bodl. 270b, fol. 27) prefigures God clothing the Infant Christ in the flesh of the Virgin, which is represented by a scene somewhat like the Annunciation in which the Virgin receives a nimbed infant from the outstretched arms of God while the dove appears to be speaking in her ear and the angel stands before her. A somewhat similar illustration (but without the figure of God) is the moralization of Lev. ii: 4, the Jews placing bread in the oven to be baked just as God placed His Son in the womb of the Virgin Mary (Oxford, Bodl. 270b, fol. 59) (Fig. 43).

There are two objections to accepting these representations in the Bible Moralisée as the source of the motive. The first is that the moralizing scenes appear to be the Incarnation rather than the Annunciation, for, in every case, they are adduced in such a way that the significant idea is the spirit made flesh, as contrasted with the Angelic Salutation. The rays of light, indicating the action of the divine principle, are absent; and the dove, when represented, is invariably speaking into the Virgin's ear, in accordance with the mediaeval conception that it was through that organ that the Virgin conceived. 151 The moralization of Lev. ii: 4 in another Bible Moralisée (Vienna, Bibl. Imp., cod. 1179, fol. 44) 152 does not follow the type of the Oxford example (Fig. 43), but shows the Virgin seated with the Christ Child in her bosom while two figures stand before her holding scrolls with inscriptions referring to the birth of Christ-more like the Byzantine Hodegetria than the Annunciation. Furthermore, the illustration of the actual Annunciation on folio 6v of the London portion of the type manuscript 153 does not contain the motive in question, a clear indication that the artists who made use of it elsewhere in the same manuscript did not consider it a representation of the Annunciation proper. The second objection to considering these examples in the Bible Moralisée as the source of our motive is that they failed to "make school," Bible Moralisée is French in origin, apparently based on the Postilles of Hugues de Saint-Cher, and the manuscripts with which we have been concerned have both been attributed to French, and possibly Parisian, ateliers. But the Christ Child motive in the Annunciation does not appear in French art until the second quarter of the fifteenth century, at least a hundred years after it had been employed elsewhere and when it had become a relatively common element

144. Vrjö Hirn, The Sacred Shrine, pp. 314-5, and notes; K. Kunstle, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, Freiburg i/B., 1928, I, p. 340; and S. Beissel, Un livre d'heures, in Revue de l'art

1, p. 340; and S. Beissel, On thre a neures, in Revue de l'art chrétien, KLVII (1904), p. 442. 145. Heimann, Der Meister der "Grandes Heures de Rohan" und seine Werkstatt, in Städeljahrbuch, VII-VIII (1932), pp. 42-43. 146. A. Goldschmidt, Elfenbeinskulpturen, II, no. 160.

Op. cit., 11, p. 49.
G. Swarzenski, Die salzburger Malerei, pl. cxxiv, fig. 416. 149. In late mediaeval art, it is not unusual to find the moon employed as a symbol of the Virgin's chastity: cf. the Virgin in Glory by the Master of Flémalle in the Museum at Aix (Renders, op. cit., pl. 10). For the crescent in the Berlin plaque, this explanation would agree with the penchant of the Romanesque Belgian-Rhenish school for somewhat involved iconography. At that time, however, the sun and moon were usually employed together to symbolize ideas that were to be compared with each other, if not always antithetical, the moon standing for the inferior principle of two, an interpretation that would be difficult to apply to the Berlin ivory.

^{150.} A. de Laborde, La Bible Moralisée, I, pls. xxvii, lix, ci;

^{150.} A. de Laborde, La Biole Movalisee
11, pls. ceviii, cexevii; IV, pl. dxcii.
151. Hirn, op. cit., pp. 296-298.
152. Laborde, op. cit., IV, pl. dclxxvii.
153. Ibid., IV, pl. cccelxxvii.

of Annunciation iconograpy in other parts of Europe. Perhaps the *Bible Moralisée* exerted a certain typological influence without being the iconographic source.

The numerous Annunciations of the fourteenth century in which the Christ Child is represented and His absence before that time lead to the conclusion that He was introduced in that period. The earliest example I know is that in the Tree of Life by Pacino da Buonaguida (Fig. 44) in the Accademia in Florence. The panel is undated, but, by stylistic comparison with other works by Pacino, it has been placed not later than 1310. It consists of forty-seven medallions surrounding the Crucifix; each represents an incident in the life of Christ as recounted in the Lignum vitae of Bonaventura,154 where they are conceived as the fruit on the twelve branches of the Tree of Life, which is the Cross. The medallion of the Annunciation is on the first branch, which is inscribed Fructus Primus, Praeclaritas Originis. It is the third of four medallions, all of which bear inscriptions taken, like that of the branch as a whole, from the Bonaventura sermon. These inscriptions are respectively Jesus ex Deo genitus, Jesus praefiguratus, Jesus emissus cælitus, and Jesus Maria natus, referring to (1) God the Father enthroned, holding a nimbed bust from which rays emerge toward the ear of the Virgin Mary in the Annunciation; (2) the prefiguration of Christ by the rock cut without the aid of hands from the side of a mountain, by which the idol with feet of clay was destroyed in the Vision of Daniel (Daniel ii: 31 ff.); (3) the Annunciation and Visitation; and (4) the Nativity.

In the Annunciation (Fig. 44), a nude child can be seen gliding down the rays that emerge from the nimbed bust held by God the Father in the first medallion and a smaller one can also be observed, clinging around the Virgin's neck. Identification of the various figures involved is made possible by the Bonaventura text which reads in part:

.... The archangel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin and when she gave her consent, the Holy Spirit came over her like a divine fire, inflaming the mind and sanctifying the flesh with the most perfect purity. Thus the virtue of the Most High was infused into her in order that she might be able to sustain such ardor; and by the operation of that virtue, the body was instantly formed and the soul created, and one and the other were together united to divinity in the person of the Son, so that He was God and Man, retaining the proper characteristics of one nature and the other. 155

According to this text, the nimbed bust held by God the Father in the first medallion must be the Holy Spirit whose action upon the Virgin is indicated by the rays passing from Him to her. The nude child at the edge of the Annunciation medallion is Christ as the Spirit—emissus cælitus—and the smaller one clinging to the Virgin's neck is Christ as Man. The text immediately following that quoted above refers to the Visitation, which is therefore represented in the same medallion.

Throughout the entire panel, Pacino followed the Bonaventura text with literal exactness, insofar as it lent itself to pictorial representation. It is possible that he was also influenced by the Meditations Vitae Christi of the Pseudo-Bonaventura, the picturesque details of which furnished the inspiration for many of the innovations in fourteenth century iconography; 156 but as far as the motive of the Christ Child in the Annunciation is concerned, it seems that his source must have been the Lignum vitae. The double child appears in no other known example, but the panel is peculiarly esoteric and theological, based on a literal transcription of the Bonaventura text, and it contains a number of such subtleties as this attempt to indicate the dual nature of Christ. 157 In subsequent examples, but one child appears and in this form the motive was very popular, spreading throughout Italy and the North during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

An early example of the motive in Sienese painting is in the Annunciation of Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece of 1320 in the Pieve at Arezzo (Fig. 6), where the Child appears in the lunette above the kneeling angel. 158 This may have been the source from which about half a century later Spinello Aretino took the idea for his fresco in the Annunziata in the same town (Fig. 38). The motive was known in North Italy at this time, for it appears in Lorenzo Veneziano's Annunciation of 1371 in the Accademia in Venice, but not, curiously enough, in his earlier one of 1357, although the two compositions are alike in other respects. It seems probable that Lorenzo derived the motive from paintings by the Florentine Guariento, with whom he is known to have had relations in the period between the painting of the two panels and who is known to have used it. 159 Also of this period are the two Annunciations in a Book of Hours (Munich, Staatsbibl. clm. 23215) made for Blanche of Savoy between 1350 and 1378 by a certain Giovanni di Benedetto da Como, one on folio 8v (Fig. 45) and

154. S. Bonaventura, Opera omnia (10 vols. in 9) Florence, 1882-1902, VIII, pp. 68-88 156. Mâle, L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge, pp. 27-34; 35-42.

158. Another Sienese example is a panel of c. 1360 in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, attributed to Bartolo di Fredi (Catalogue no. 1142). Labande (Les primitifs français, p. 150) asserts that the Christ Child was represented in the Sienese Annunciation in the Museum at Aix Kunsthist. Gesell. für photog. Publ., VI, pl. 10), but the figure which he thus interpreted seems rather to have been merely a decorative adjunct to the architecture, this point having been verified for me by Dr. Erwin Panofsky.

been verified for me by Dr. Erwin Panofsky.

159. L. Testi, La pittura veneziana, I, p. 224, in which the two Lorenzo Veneziano panels are also illustrated, pp. 214 and 223.

^{155.} Lignum vitae, fructus I; "....misso archangelo Gabriele and Virginem, et Virgine praebente illi assensum, supervenit in eam Spiritus, sanctus, sicut ignis divinus mentem eius inflammans carnemque ipsius perfectissima puritate sanctificans. Sed et virtus eam emque ipsius perfectissima puritate sanctificans. Sed et virtus eam instanti corpus fuit formatum, anima creata et simul utrumque Divinitati in persona Filii counitum, ut idem esset Deus et homo, galva utriusque proprietate naturae"—op. cit., VIII, p. 71.

^{157.} For details of the panel, see R. Offner, op. cit., Sect. III, vol. II, pt. 1, pls. ii-ii14. Another Annunciation by Pacino, a miniature from a series of the life of Christ (Morgan Library, no. 643, illustrated by Offner, pl. viii2) does not contain the motive. The same is true of the fresco of the Lignum vitae in S. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo (Van Marle, op. cit., IV, p. 219), dated 1347, by a minor Giottesque painter. Only the lower part of the fresco exists, the medallion of the Annunciation being one of the six preserved, none of which show sufficient similarities with the same subjects in Pacino's panel to justify the assumption it was known to the Bergamo artist. Probably the motive was a rather sophisticated one at first, becoming more popular in time, as its subsequent diffusion shows. In this connection, it may not be without significance that the majority of the early examples of the motive contain references to the Dominican order in one form or another.

the other on folio 65v,100 in both of which our motive is present, the cross-nimbed Child taking His departure toward earth from the outstretched arms of God. 161

Outside of Italy, the motive was known in Spain, 162 in the Ecole du Midi (Fig. 13), in Bohemia (Fig. 12), and in Germany (Fig. 14), before the end of the fourteenth century, and continued in use in those regions through the fifteenth. 163 It appears in Flanders, in the Mérode altarpiece of c. 1425 (Fig. 29), and subsequently in Flemish manuscripts. 164 Examples are also to be found in English alabasters and manuscripts of the fifteenth century.165 A significant fact in the history of the diffusion of the motive in European art is the absence of any French examples, apart from the Italianizing École du Midi, before the second

160. P. Toesca, La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia, Milan, 1912, fig. 214. See also Panofsky, The Friedsam Annunciation fig. 12.

tion..., fig. 12.

161. Other Italian examples are the initial miniatures of the Matricola dei Mercanti of Perugia, dated c. 1377 and attributed to Matteo di Ser Cambio, and of the Matricola dei Notari of Perugia, dated 1403-1406 (L'arte, XV, 1912, p. 55)—both in the Biblioteca Communale of Perugia—and the two examples by Giovanni dal Ponte cited in note 136.

Ponte cited in note 130.

162. Panel in the Brera Gallery, Milan, from the atelier of Pedro Serra, dated c. 1400: C. R. Post, A History of Spanish Painting, Cambridge, 1933, IV⁸, p. 521.

163. For other examples in Northern painting during the late

fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: the Passion altar of 1370-80 in the Cistercian monastery at Netze (Preussische Jahrb the altarpiece of c. 1300 in the church at Schotten (Zeitschrift für the altarpiece of c. 1390 in the church at Schotten (Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst, 1911, col. 73); an initial in a prayer book of the school of Laurin von Klattau in the library at Zittau, c. 1410 (Burger, op. cit., I, pl. 17); the Buxtehude altarpiece of 1390-1400, a schoolpiece from the workshop of Meister Bertram (Burger, Schmitz, and Beth, op. cit., II, fig. 518) in the Hamburg Kunsthalle; a fresco in the cathedral at Brixen in the Tyrol, dated about 1420. Burger, Schmitz, and Beth, op. cit., II, fig. 303); a panel of the Brixen school in the monastery at Wilten, dated 1430-40 (Burger, Schmitz, and Beth, op. cit., II, fig. 325); a painting by the Marienleben Master in the Munich Alte Pinakothek (Reiners, Die kölner Malerschule, fig. 140); a panel by the Master of the Lyversburg Passion dated 1464, in the Nuremberg Germanisches Museum (Reiners, op. cit., fig. 176); and a painting by Friedrich Pacher, dated 1465, in the Stiftsgalerie at Neustift (Pächt, Österreichische Tafelmalerei der Gotik , pl. 64).

On fol. 19v of a Flemish Book of Hours in the Teyler collection in Haarlem, dated 1433 and apparently originating in Utrecht (Byvanck, *La miniature hollandaise*, pl. 204); also on fol. 55v of a Netherlandish Book of Hours made for the van Zaers family, Levden, Netherlandish Book of Hours made for the van Laers lamily, Leyden, Univ. Lib. ms. lat. 224 (P. Durrieu, La miniature flamade au temps de la cour de Bourgogne, Brussels and Paris, 1921, pl. xxii).

165. Cf. the Annunciation on fol. 12 of the Hours of Henry de Beauchamp (Dyson Perrins Coll., Ms. 18) illustrated by E. Millar

Beauchamp (Dyson Perrins Coll., Ms. 18) illustrated by E. Millar (English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, Brussels, 1928, pl. 91); also an alabaster relief, illustrated by P. Nelson, The Virgin Triptych at Danzig, in Archaeological Journal, LXXVI (1919), pl. ii. Particular interest is attached to English examples of the Christ Child motive in the Annunciation by a stage direction for the performance of the Angelic Salutation in the Consentry Play. This porticular part of the play is an introduction Coventry Play. This particular part of the play is an interpolation of 1468 in the main body of the drama and the direction reads as of 1405 in the main body of the drama and the direction reads as follows: "there the holy gost discendit with iij bemys to our lady the sone of the godhead nest with iij bemys to the holy gost the fadyr godly with iij bemys to the sone, And so entre All thre to here bosom" (K. S. Block, Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie called Corpus Christi, London, 1922, p. 107). The suggestion made earlier that the motive in question had its origin in the theological writings of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century gains support from of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century gains support from its appearance in this particular play for the whole of the interpolated section (called The Salutation and Conception) is based on the Pseudo-Bonaventura's Meditationes vitae Christi (Block, op. cit., p. xxiii), probably in Nicolas Love's English version of 1410, The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ. Although it cannot be stated categorically that the direction in this play is derived from artistic representations, it is at least worthy of notice that such a direction for the performance of the Annunciation episode does not appear in any other religious drama of the period, either English or Continental. It seems justifiable to conclude, therefore, that the popularity of the motive was not due to influence from the stage.

quarter of the fifteenth century. The nearest approach to it, apart from the Bible Moralisée examples, is in a miniature (Fig. 46) on folio 166v of a manuscript. dated 1360-70, of Guillaume de Degulleville's Les Trois Pèlerinages (Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Geneviève, ms. 1130),166 in which three angels convey a small, nude, nimbed figure from heaven to the Virgin. This is not an example of our motive, however, for the episode represented is the Incarnation and the illustration is therefore typologically related to the Bible Moralisée examples cited elsewhere. The earliest instance of the motive in French art I have found is on folio 57r of Morgan 157, dated c. 1430.167 After this time it occurs fairly frequently in manuscripts 168 and in panel paintings, e. g. the Aix Annunciation of c. 1443 (Fig. 39).

Some variations in the motive can be observed. Occasionally the dove does not appear, as in the example from the Liber Viaticus of Johann von Neumarkt (Fig. 12), the Mérode altarpiece (Fig. 29), and the Aix Annunciation (Fig. 39). It is naturally omitted from the Pacino da Buonaguida example (Fig. 44) since the principle of the Holy Spirit is represented by the nimbed bust held by God the Father in the accompanying medallion inscribed Jesus ex Deo genitus. When the dove is portrayed, it precedes the Child in the progression from God to the Virgin, although in an example by Panetti 169 of the late fifteenth century, this order is reversed, a conception which it is difficult to rationalize on any grounds. The Child is sometimes shown with a cross on His shoulder (Figs. 14, 29, 39), sometimes not (Figs. 12, 38, 44, 45), its presence being an obvious reference to Christ's mission on earth. It would therefore be superfluous in the Pacino panel (Fig. 44) in which that mission is set forth in detail in the other medallions, but its omission in the other examples cited can be attributed only to the whim of the artists.

No attempt has been made to do more than to arrive at a general outline of the history of the motive, as follows: The motive is derived from the Lignum vitae of Bonaventura, and its first and most complete

166. A. Boinet, Les manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève à Paris, in Bulletin de la société française de reproductions des manuscrits à peintures, Paris, 1921, V, pp. 96-107.

167. Panofsky, The Friedsam Annunciation..., fig. 15. Another French example of the same period is that on fol. 31 of the Hours of Margarith (Joseph (Paris, R. N. me. les 1958) illustrated in

French example of the same period is that on fol. 31 of the Hours of Marguerite d'Orleans (Paris, B. N., ms. lat. 1156B, illustrated in Blum and Lauer, La miniature française, pl. 9). Beissel cites another in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, also c. 1430, in the Arenberg collection (Revue de l'art chrétien, XLVII, 1904, p. 442). 168. E. g., Paris, B. N., ms. lat 1162, fol. 42 (Leroquais, Les livres d'heures., pl. 33), and Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 412, fol. 1 (Leroquais, Les sacramentaires..., pl. lxxxv). An amusing adaptation of the motive appears on fol. 5v of a Bible Historiée in the Morgan Library (Ms. 394) in the Creation of Adam, where Christ blows the soul, represented by a small nucle infant, through what appears to soul, represented by a small nude infant, through what appears to be a long speaking tube, into Adam's mouth, from which the legs of the child protrude. This is the second stage in a process which is seen beginning in a miniature on fol. 3 of another Bible Histories. (Paris, B. N., ms. fr. 3), dated, like the Morgan manuscript, in the fifteenth century; in the Paris miniature the soul is about to leave the seated Trinity on its journey to the sleeping Adam below (information concerning the Paris miniature has reached me through the kindness of Miss Adelheid Heimann who is to publish it shortly in the course of her study of the iconography of the Trinity). A device somewhat like the speaking tube in the Morgan miniature appears in the tympanum of the Marienkapelle at Würzburg, in which the Child slides down a winding tube from God's mouth to the Virgin's ear (Pinder, Würzburger Plastik, Leipzig, 1911, pl. 39).

169. In the Ateneo at Ferrara (Venturi, La Madonna, p. 190).

representation is in Pacino da Buonaguida's Tree of Life of c. 1310. It is found in Florentine and Sienese painting of the first half of the fourteenth century, and spreads to North Italy, to the Midi, to Spain, to Bohemia, and to Germany, in the second half of the century. It appears first, therefore, in those countries whose artistic traditions were most closely linked with and influenced by that of Italy. In the course of the fifteenth century, it also appears in the less Italianate schools of Flanders, England, and northern France. It can be found in examples as late as the sixteenth century, 170 but only in the works of secondary painters. In this connection, it is interesting to observe that in general, the motive appears in works of a retardataire or bourgeois character. As has been pointed out, the Master of Flémalle is the only one

of the great Flemish painters to employ it, and it appears to have always been a popular rather than a dignified motive. It was opposed quite early by theologians, St. Antoninus of Florence (1389-1459) writing of it; "Reprehensibiles sunt pictores, cum pingunt.... in Annunciatione Virginis parvulum puerum formatum, scilicet Iesum, mitti in uterum Virginis, quasi non esset ex substantia Virginis corpus eius assumptum." 171

It was finally condemned ex cathedra by Benedict XIV in the eighteenth century as belonging to the Valentinian heresy that the substance of Christ's body was formed before the Holy Spirit entered into the Virgin.

170. Annunciation of c. 1525 by Bartel Bruyn in the Darmstadt Landesmuseum (Reiners, Die kölner Malerschule, fig. 285).

171. Summa hist., III, tit. 8, 4, § 11; cited by Beissel, Revue de l'art chrétien, XLVII (1904), p. 442.

THE GREY-FITZPAYN HOURS

AN ENGLISH GOTHIC MANUSCRIPT OF THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY
NOW IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE, MS. 242

By DONALD DREW EGBERT

HE Book of Hours MS. 242 in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is an example of English illumination of the early fourteenth century that is particularly important both because it is an early example of the Horae and because its rich illuminations were executed in central England by a group of craftsmen who produced some of the most significant manuscripts of the period. Heraldic arms which form part of the decorations of the volume indicate that it was executed for a knight of the Grey family and his wife, a lady connected with the Cliffords of Frampton. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries richly illuminated books were frequently made for the occasion of weddings, and there is reason for believing that this Book of Hours was produced for the marriage of Sir Richard Grey to Joan Fitzpayn, daughter of Sir Robert Fitzpayn and his wife, Isabel Clifford.

The chief evidence that the book was executed for these members of the Grey and Fitzpayn families is offered by the small portraits which are included in the illuminations of the volume, for on all of the remaining full-page pictures as well as in most of the large initials, is depicted a knight in armor whose surcoat bears the arms of the Greys of Codnor, Barry silver and azure, differenced by on a bend gules three mullets gold; while many of the same pages contain the representation of a lady who wears the above arms impaled with Chequy gold and azure, on a bend gules three lioncels passant silver (see Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6). The lady is doubtless Joan Fitzpayn, whose father, Sir Robert Fitzpayn (d. 1315), Lord of Lammer in Dorsetshire, bore the arms Gules, three lions passant silver, a bendlet azure. Her mother was Isabel Clifford, daughter of that Sir John Clifford of Frampton-on-Severn, County Gloucester, whose arms were Chequy gold and azure, a bend gules. The evidence offered by these portraits is supported by some of the heraldic shields

All references to the Old Testament herein follow the text of C. de Bunsen, T. Heyse, and C. de Tischendorf, *Biblia Sacra Latina*, *Veteris Testamenti*.... (Leipzig, 1873).

2. This identification was first suggested by Sir Sydney Cockerell. See E. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (Paris and Brussels, 1928), p. 58. Cockerell had previously suggested in Sir George Warner's Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins (Oxford, 1920), Vol. I, p. 13, that the arms of the knight were those of Pabenham, but his later attribution to Richard Grey is undoubtedly the correct one. See The Complete Peerage (new edition, 1910-) for articles on the families Grey, Fitzpayn, and Clifford.

I. I owe much to the kindness of Dr. Montague Rhodes James and Sir Sydney Cockerell, who have allowed me to make use of an unpublished description of the manuscript made by Dr. James shortly after the acquisition of the main part of the book by the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1896. This description, to which certain additions have been made by Sir Sydney Cockerell, is at present in the Fitzwilliam, and on it I have partly based the description contained in the Appendix to this article.

which ornament the margins of three of the more important pages of the book, fols. 3r, 29r, and 55v (Figs. 2, 5, and 6), for chief among them are the shields of Clifford and of Grey.⁸

Joan Fitzpayn married Sir Richard Grey (b. 1281 or 1282, d. 1334/5) of Codnor in Derbyshire, sometime before 1308, as she is cited in the will of her father-in-law, Sir Henry Grey, who died in that year. The arms of Sir Henry Grey were Barry silver and azure, to which his son Richard evidently added, at least until his father's death, on a bend gules, three mullets gold. It is probable that the wedding did not take place before the beginning of the fourteenth century, for in 1300 Sir Richard would have been only eighteen or nineteen years of age.4 Hence our manuscript was presumably executed sometime between 1300 and 1308. Concerning its later history, little is known until the nineteenth century. At the end of the book, on fol. 93r, is written the Prayer of the Seven Words by a hand of the fifteenth century, and underneath the prayer a name, presumably contemporary, has been cut out. The volume was rebound, apparently about 1700, and many indications of ownership were doubtless lost with the orginal end-papers and flyleaves. In 1819 the book was in the possession of A. Fountaine of Narford Hall, Norfolk, because on the paper flyleaf at the front is a signed and dated inscription, in which Fountaine ascribes a date of about 1350 to the volume on the basis of the style of the costumes and armor depicted in the illumination, a date nearly fifty years too late. At the sale of the Fountaine collection at Christies' on July 6, 1894, the manuscript was purchased as lot 143 by William Morris, the famous and many-sided poet, artist, and mediaevalist. When Morris purchased the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours in 1894, the Fitzwilliam Museum was already in possession of two leaves, now fols. 37 and 55, which had been detached from the volume at some unknown date and which had been presented to the Fitzwilliam in 1892 by Mr. Samuel Sandars. An agreement was made between the museum and Mr. Morris by which he was to possess the leaves, replaced in the book, for his lifetime, and upon his death the museum was to acquire the whole at an agreed price; when he died in 1896, the whole manuscript became the property of the museum.

As to the provenance of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, definite evidence is lacking but it is entirely possible that the book was executed not far from Codnor Castle in Derbyshire, the chief seat of the Greys, which is some twelve miles northwest of Nottingham. This suggestion for its provenance is to some extent supported by contemporary manuscripts similar in style, and with it forming a distinctive and important group of books from central England, the work of a single atelier, or closely related ateliers, of illuminators. A manuscript most similar in style is the Psalter, executed for a lady connected with the Bardolf and Vaux families, which is now MS. 233 in the Library of Lambeth Palace in London. In this book certain

Société française de reproductions des manuscrits à peintures, 1924, pls. XXXV-XL; 1925, pp. 5-11. Also see M. R. James and C. Jenkins A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, Part III (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 373-379. Another MS. very similar in style to the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours is the Greenfield Apocalypse, Royal MS. 15 D. II in the British Museum.

^{3.} See the Appendix for a complete list of the shields.

^{4.} Contemporary documents disagree as to the date of his birth, the years 1281 and 1282 both being given.

^{5.} For a description of Lambeth Palace MS. 233, see E. G. Millar, Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Lambeth Palais à Londres, in Bulletin de la



1'1G. 1-Fol. 2v. Frontispiece of the Hours of the Virgin



Fig. 2-Fol. 3r. Initial page of the Hours of the Virgin

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours

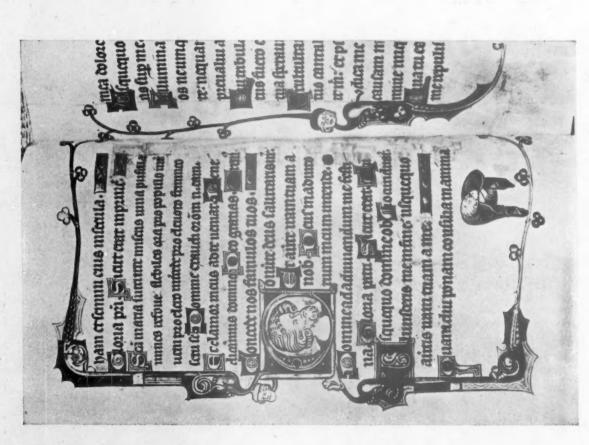


Fig. 3—Fol. 23v. The beginning of Compline of the Hours of the Virgin

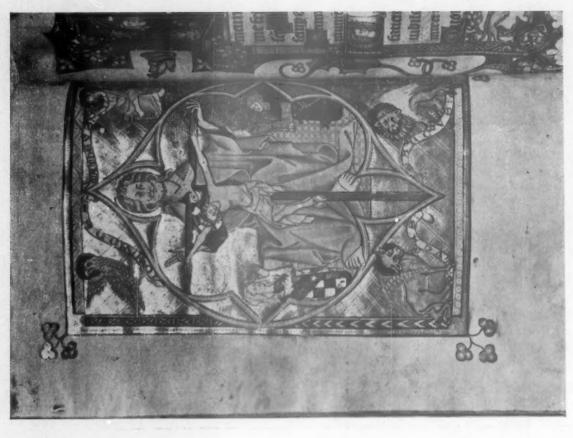


Fig. 4—Fol. 28v. Frontispiece of the Hours of the Trinity

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours

motives of the marginal decorations, chiefly grotesques, are identical with portions of the decorations in the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours.⁶ This identity of marginal grotesques indicates the use of a common pattern book for both manuscripts, which were thus apparently produced by the same workshop of illuminators, a workshop doubtless of lay craftsmen, for by the fourteenth century the professional lay illuminator had very largely supplanted the monkish artist. The Calendar and Litany of the Lambeth Psalter though not of a very definite color (as is to be expected in a manuscript executed for secular ownership) do show connections with the archiepiscopal diocese of York and possible connection with some Augustinian house. It may therefore be that the Lambeth Psalter was written at the Augustinian Priory of Shelford, of which the Bardolf family were patrons, and which was very near Stoke Bardolph, the Bardolf seat in the environs of Nottingham.

Not quite so similar to the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours but undoubtedly related in style are the Tickhill Psalter of the New York Public Library and the Psalter of Queen Isabella, Cod. gall. 16 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at Munich,8 for both of which a common pattern book of decorative motives was in part employed; though it was not the same pattern book as that used for the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, and the Bardolf-Vaux Psalter at Lambeth Palace. The Tickhill Psalter was written by John Tickhill, one-time prior (1303-14) of the Augustinian Monastery of Worksop, near Nottingham, while the Calendar of the Psalter of Queen Isabella (which was probably executed for the occasion of her marriage to Edward II in 1308 and hence was begun some time after her betrothal to him in 1303) indicates a provenance not far away and also shows a connection with the archiepiscopal diocese of York and with an Augustinian house. Thus, of the three manuscripts most similar in style to the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, all offer more or less evidence for a provenance from central England and all show connections with the diocese of York. The Tickhill Psalter was surely written at the Augustinian monastery of Worksop; the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, too, may have been written by a monkish hand, perhaps by an Augustinian canon as was the Tickhill Psalter, though we have no proof that such was the case. However, it is worth noting that the Grey family were great patrons of the Augustinian house of Felley, a few miles from their seat at Codnor but in Nottinghamshire, and hence in the diocese of York. The monastery at Felley had actually been subject to Worksop Priory until about 1260, so that it is not impossible, first, that the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours were written at Felley and, second, that the atelier of illuminators who decorated the Tickhill Psalter may have been brought to the attention of the Greys by the work which they were doing on the Tickhill Psalter for Worksop. In the absence of any direct evidence, such a suggestion is not to be stressed; nevertheless it is highly probable that all the manuscripts mentioned above are the product of a single group of illuminators

motive at the bottom of fol. 55v in Fitzwilliam MS. 242 (Fig. 6).

^{6.} Compare the sleeping lion in the bottom margin of fol. 15r, the first page on the Psalms of the Lambeth book, with the lion in the upper margin of fol. 29r of the Fitzwilliam manuscript (Fig. 5). Also compare the grotesque bearded human head on two hairy animal legs likewise found in the lower margin of fol. 15r of the Lambeth Psalter, with the same

^{7.} For the Tickhill Psalter see my article in the Bulletin of the New York Public Library for October, 1932.

^{1932.8.} See my article in the Bulletin of the New York Public Library for October, 1935.

active in central England and for the most part restricting their work to the southern part of the archiepiscopal diocese of York.

The contents of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours are of importance because the volume is an early example of the Book of Hours, a type of religious book which by the fifteenth century was to become the most popular kind of illuminated manuscript.9 The Horae is in reality a sort of Breviary for the use of the laity, and its most remote origin goes back to the libelli precum of the early Middle Ages. Until the thirteenth century the usual lay book of prayer was the Psalter, and it was out of the Psalter that the Book of Hours gradually developed. The earliest Books of Hours combined a Psalter with the Hours of the Virgin, though the earliest office of the Virgin does not seem to be earlier than the tenth century, and gradually the portion devoted to the Hours became more and more important than the Psalter until it was made into a separate book, beginning probably in the thirteenth century.10 The Book of Hours takes its name from the subdivision of the book of prayer into periods equivalent to the Horae of the Romans, which were divisions of the day corresponding to three of our hours of sixty minutes. Thus, the Book of Hours is divided into sections to be said every three hours or so, each with its own particular Psalms, etc. Matins and Lauds were said between midnight and 6 A. M.; Prime, between 6 and 9 A. M.; Tierce, between 9 A. M. and noon; Sext, between noon and 3 P. M.; Nones, between 3 and 6 P. M.; Vespers, between 6 and 9 P. M.; and Compline, between 9 P. M. and midnight. The first Hours to develop was, as has been indicated, the Hours of the Virgin (a fact which reflects the ever-growing cult of the Virgin in the late Middle Ages), and to the Hours of the Virgin additional elements were steadily added.

The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours contains no Calendar though, like other Horae, it undoubtedly had one originally. The book is particularly noteworthy in being an early example of a separate Book of Hours which contains, as well as the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghost. In addition to the Calendar, eight scattered folios are missing from the text, which begins with the Hours of the Virgin, followed by the Hours of the Trinity and the Hours of the Holy Ghost; then come the Seven Penitential Psalms, the remains of the Litany and its Collects, the Gradual Psalms, the Office of the Dead, and, finally, the Prayer of Bede on the Seven Words, which was added to the book in the fifteenth century. The fact that in the Litany the suffrage, Ut archipresulem nostrum..., found in the Tickhill and Isabella Psalters and also to be found in the Bardolf-Vaux Psalter at Lambeth Palace, is replaced by Ut episcopus..., indicates that unlike the other three

^{9.} For discussion of the origin and contents of Horae, see M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1895), pp. xxiii-xxxviii; also V. Leroquais, Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1927), Vol. I. Further bibliography will be found in the note at the bottom of p. II in the latter book. See also the Surtees Society publication for 1919, Horae Eboracenses (Durham and London, 1920).

^{10.} Sir Sydney Cockerell, in his description of the Brailes' Horae in G. Warner's Descriptive Catalogue

of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins (Oxford, 1920), pp. 12 ff., mentions seven examples of Sarum Horae, including Fitzwilliam MS. 242, as the only ones he knows which could possibly date ante 1300, a date, however, slightly too early for MS. 242.

^{11.} The Seven Penitential Psalms are Psalms vi, xxxi, xxxvii, l, ci, cxxix, cxlii.

^{12.} The Gradual Psalms include Psalms cxix-cxxxiii, to which was added sometimes, as in the Grey-Clifford Hours, Psalm cl.

books, the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours was written for patrons outside the archiepiscopal diocese of York: Codnor lies within the boundaries of the diocese of Lichfield. The "use" to which the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours belongs can be easily deduced from examination of *Matins* and *Lauds* of the Hours of the Virgin. That the volume is of the most common English use, that of Sarum (i. e., Salisbury), which was customary throughout the southern half of England, is indicated by the presence of certain features such as the Hymn at *Matins*, *Quem terra*..., employed in combination with the Chapter at *Lauds*, *Maria virgo*..., and the Collect at *Lauds*, *Concede nos*...

The historiated decorations of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours include two full-page illuminations which form the frontispieces of the Hours of the Virgin and of the Hours of the Trinity (Figs. 1 and 4), the one at the beginning of the Hours of the Holy Ghost having been lost. The frontispiece of the Hours of the Virgin depicts the Annunciation, while that of the Hours of the Trinity represents Christ on the Cross supported by God the Father in the presence of the Holy Ghost. *Matins* of each of the three Hours originally began with a large initial as high as seven lines of the script and more than half as wide as the column of text. The initials of *Matins* in the Hours of the Virgin and of the Trinity (Figs. 2 and 5) are the only ones which now remain and respectively depict the Virgin and Child, and Christ in Majesty, while the missing initial of the Hours of the Holy Ghost probably represented the Descent of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles at Pentecost. The only other seven-line initial occurs at the beginning of the Seven Penitential Psalms (Fig. 6) and depicts Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John.

The style of the illuminations, both historiated and purely decorative, reflects the influence of French art, which was very strong in the other countries of Europe at the beginning of the fourteenth century, before the Hundred Years' War and the Black Death ended its supremacy. The fashionable French style was particularly imitated in the work done for the English court, and we have already seen that the Psalter of Queen Isabella, one of the group of manuscripts to which the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours belongs, was executed for the bride of Edward II. The delicacy and small scale of most of the ornament and figures in the Hours reflect this French influence, though not so strongly as in the Isabella Psalter. Combined with the French characteristics are, however, certain ornamental features, such as the love of rich heraldic decoration, which recall the more purely English work of the period that was being executed in East Anglia. At the same time, the iconography and figure style of some of the full-page illuminations of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours are in many respects similar to that important group of manuscripts which centers around the famous Queen Mary Psalter, Royal MS. 2 B. VII, in the British Museum, 18 the exact provenance of which is uncertain. The Trinity picture on fol. 28v (Fig 4), in particular is similar to that of Queen Mary's Psalter, and the Annunciation of fol. 2v (Fig. 1) recalls the same subject in the Queen Mary group, so much so that one is tempted to suggest that an artist trained in the style of the group had joined our atelier of illuminators.

^{13.} E. G. Millar in English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (Paris and Brussels, 1928), pp. 17 and 19, has pointed out that

our group of manuscripts stands midway between the East Anglian school of illumination and the group centering about the Queen Mary Psalter.

To summarize, we have seen that the Grey-Fitzpayn Book of Hours was probably executed shortly before 1308 for the marriage of Joan Fitzpayn to Richard Grey. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we suggest that the book may have been produced not far from Codnor, the seat of the Greys near Nottingham, and possibly at the neighboring Augustinian monastery of Felley. It is a member of an important series of English illuminated manuscripts of the early fourteenth century, and the contents and distinctive style of these related books make it probable that they were all illuminated by an interrelated group of craftsmen working in the central part of England, mostly in the southern part of the archiepiscopal diocese of York. While the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours is neither the richest nor historically the most significant product of this group of illuminators, yet, as an early and well executed example of an Hours of the use of Sarum, connected with the well-known English families of Grey, Fitzpayn, and Clifford, it is of considerable importance in the history of Gothic illumination.

APPENDIX

I. CHIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1895), no. 191, i, p. 398, pl. XVIII. (Only the two leaves later reinserted in the MS. as fols. 37 and 55 are discussed, the plate illustrating fol. 55v.)

2. E. Hoskins, Horae Beatae Virginis or Sarum and York Primers (1901), p. XI, notes 3, 4, 8.

3. S. C. Cockerell, The Gorleston Psalter (London,

1907), pp. 2, and 30, note 2. 4. S. C. Cockerell, Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts (London, 1908), p. 25, under no. 51.

5. M. R. James, The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts (London and New York, 1919), pp. 92, and 93.

6. S. C. Cockerell in G. Warner, Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins (Oxford, 1920), Vol. 1, p. 13.

7. E. G. Millar, Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions des manuscrits à peintures, 1924 and 1925, Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Lambeth Palais à Londres, illustrations, 1924, pls. XXXV-XL; text, 1925, pp. 8 and 9.

8. E. G. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (Paris and Brussels, 1928), pp. 18-19, 58, and 82; pls. 48 and 49 (fols. 2v,

3r; 28v, 29r).

9. M. R. James and C. Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, Part III (Cambridge, 1932), p. 376.

II. MATERIAL, RULING, BINDING, ETC.

The MS. is of vellum except for one folio of white paper preceding the vellum and two folios following, the end-papers being part of the same sheets of paper as the first and last of the paper flyleaves. What was originally a second flyleaf of paper has been torn out at the front of the book. All of the paper is watermarked with vertical rack-mark lines spaced about three-quarters of an inch apart. In addition, the front end-paper and the two paper flyleaves at the back are watermarked with a shield surmounted by a crown with five fleurs-de-lys, and on the shield is a curved horn which has its carrying strap looped about it. Both the flyleaf at the front

and the rear end-paper lack this shield but are watermarked with the initials L.P.

The pages measure $9\ 3/16\times6$ inches, but have been trimmed. There are 93 folios of vellum ruled with 21 lines to the page. The text is written in brownish-black ink, and the letters m and n have the small diagonal strokes at the base of the verticals that are not ordinarily found anterior to the fourteenth century. The present binding is of brown calf probably dating about 1700. Near the edges of the covers are double-line tooled gilt borders, with gilt roses in the corners. There is no title on the binding, the back being decorated merely with six gilt rosettes.

III. COLLATION OF THE VELLUM FOLIOS

There are eleven gatherings of vellum, as follows: Quire I (fols. 1 through 2), a gathering of two flyleaves; II (fols. 3 through 12), a gathering of twelve folios, leaves 6 and 7 missing after fol. 7; III (fols. 13 through 23), a gathering of twelve folios, leaf 3 missing after fol. 14; IV (fols. 24 through 26), a gathering of six folios, leaves 4, 5, 6, cancelled after fol. 26; V (fols. 27 and 28), a gathering of two

folios; VI (fols. 29 through 40), a gathering of twelve folios; VII fols. 41 through 49), a quinion, leaf 3 missing after fol. 42; VIII (fols. 50 through 61), a gathering of twelve folios; IX (fols. 62 through 69), a gathering of twelve folios, leaves 2, 5, 6, 9 missing

(2 after fol. 62, 5 and 6 after fol. 64, and 9 after fol. 66); X (fols. 70 through 81), a gathering of twelve folios; XI (fols. 82 through 93), a gathering of twelve folios. There were thus originally 101 vellum folios, of which 93 remain.

IV. HISTORY, INSCRIPTIONS, ETC.

Date. The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours can be dated with reasonable certainty shortly before 1308. (See the first part of this article for the evidence.)

Provenance. The book may well have been executed near Codnor, the seat of the Grey family, not far from Nottingham.

Marginal Inscriptions, etc. On the front end-paper is written twice, 242, the number of the book in the library of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

On the verso of the front paper flyleaf is written in pencil in the hand of A. Fountaine of Narford Hall, Norfolk,

From a comparison of the head-dresses and the chain armor of the knight for whom this MS. was executed with those given in Strutts dresses I am inclined to assign the date to 1350—(sic).

(Signed) A. Fountaine.

Narford 1819.

"Strutts dresses" refers to A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England, by Joseph Strutt (London, 1796-99). Below this statement by Fountaine is written: An early MS, of the 13th century (sic). Also on the front end-paper is written

a modern identification of the original owners of the book, Clifford of Frampton/Gray.

On fol. IV is written in brownish ink in what appears to be an eighteenth century hand, N. 65, and on fol. 2V in red ink, No 1.

On fol. 55v, at the bottom of the first page of the Seven Penitential Psalms, is an inscription by a hand likewise apparently of the eighteenth century, Septem Psalmi Penitentiales | Our Saviour on the Cross.

On fol. 93r below the Prayer of the Seven Words,

On fol. 93r below the Prayer of the Seven Words, which was written by a hand of the fifteenth century, a name (?), presumably contemporary, has been cut out of the leaf. Beyond each end of the cut-out space is in silver what appears to be the letter P reversed.

On the recto of the first flyleaf at the back of the book is written a collation in the hand of Dr. M. R. James, Director of the Fitzwilliam at the time the book was acquired by the Museum. This collation is correct except for the fact that the second quire is given as a quinion, whereas it actually was a gathering of twelve folios of which leaves 6 and 7 after fol. 7 are now lacking.

V. CONTENTS OF THE TEXT

The text begins on fol. 3r, fol. 1 and fol. 2r being blank, while on fol. 2v is the full-page illuminated frontispiece to the Hours of the Virgin. There is thus no Calendar, though there probably was one originally. The present contents include; 1, The Hours of the Virgin; 2, The Hours of the Trinity; 3, The Hours of the Holy Ghost; 4, The Seven Penitential Psalms; 5, The Litany; 6, The Collects after the Litany; 7, Gradual Psalms, and Collects; 8, The Office of the Dead; 9, The Prayer of the Seven Words (added in the fifteenth century). Several folios are missing, as has been indicated in the collation. Because the book is an early example of an Hours in which the Hours of the Virgin are combined with the Hours of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghost, I list below the chief initia (with initials two or more lines in height), but, to save space, in each case identify the contents of Matins only.

I. The Hours of the Virgin.

MATINS (fol. 31). Domine labia.... (V). Venite exultemus.... (Invitatory, Psalm xciv). Quem terra.... (Hymn). Domine dominus n(oste)r.... (Psalm viii). Ceti enarrant.... (Psalm xviii). Domine est t(er)ra.... (Psalm xxiii). S(an)c(t)a Maria virgo.... (Lesson). Sancta Maria piarum... (Lesson). Sancta dei genetrix.... (Lesson). Te deum.... Two folios are lacking after fol. 7 and they contained the last part of Matins beginning with the second verse of the Te Deum, and also the first part of Lauds.

LAUDS (fol. 8r). The beginning of Lauds to the end of Psalm xcix and the beginning of Psalm lxii

was also on the two folios lacking before fol. 8. Hence Lauds now begins with Psalm Ixii, Deus deus meus....
Then: Deus misereatur.... Benedicite omnia opera....
Laudate dominu(m) de celis.... Cantate domino canticum novum laus.... Laudate dominu(m) in s(an)c(t)is ei(us)....
Maria virgo semp(er) letare.... O gloriosa domina....
Benedictus.... Concede nos.... Deus qui corda....
Om(ni)p(oten)s sempit(er)ne deus qui dedisti.... Suffrage to Michael: Deus qui.... To Peter and Paul: Deus cuius dexteram.... John: Eccl(es)iam tuam.... Nicholas: Deus qui beatum.... Katherine: Deus qui dedisti legem.... The end of Lauds is lacking on the folio missing before fol. 15.

missing before fol. 15.

PRIME (fol. 15r). The beginning of Prime was on the folio now missing before fol. 15, for fol. 15r begins with Psalm v, 2, precipe v(er)ba oris mei....

Then: Laudate dominum omnes ge(n)tes.... Co(n)fitemini d(omi)no q(ue)m bonus.... In omnib(us) requiem.... Concede nos....

TIERCE (fol. 17v). Deus in adiutorium.... Ad dominu(m) cum tribularer.... Levavi oculos meos.... Letatus sum....

SEXT (fol. 191). Deus in adiutorium... Ad te levavi oculos meos... Nisi quia... Qui confidunt... Et sic in syon....

NONES (fol. 20v). Deus in adiutorium... Ni dominus edificaverit.... Beati o(mn)es qui timent.... Et radicavi in populo....

VESPERS (fol. 221). Deus in adiutorium.... Beata est virgo Maria.... Ave maris stella.... Magnificat anima mea....

COMPLINE (fol. 23v). Converte deus salutaris n(oste)r... Usquequo domine... Iudica me deus... Sepe expugnaverunt me... Domine n(on) est exultatum... Sicut cynamonium... Virgo singularis int(er) omnes... Nunc dimittis... Gra(tia)m tuam q(uaesumu)s domine...

2. The Hours of the Trinity. The text of the Hours of the Trinity begins on fol. 29r, for fol. 27 and fol. 28r are blank, while on fol. 28v is the full-page frontispiece to the Hours of the Trinity, representing Christ on the Cross held by God the Father in the

presence of the Holy Ghost.

MATINS (fol. 29r). Domine labia... (V). Venite exultemus... (Invitatory, Psalm xciv). Pat(er) fili paraclite... (Hymn). Cantate d(omi)no canticum novum. cantate... (Psalm xcv). Cantate domino canticum novum. q(uia) mirabilia... (Psalm xcvii). Cantate d(omin)o canticum novum. laus... (Psalm cxlix). Credimus s(an)c(t)am trinitatem... (Lesson). Credimus p(at)rem... (Lesson). Credimus unu(m)... (Lesson). Te deum...

LAUDS (fol. 33v). Deus in adiutorium... Benedicite omnia opera... O altitudo... Adesto s(an)c(t)a trinitas... Benedictus... Omnipotens sempit(er)ne d(eu)s

aui dedisti

PRIME (fol. 36r). Deus in adiutorium... Pater deus qui omnia.... Quicunq(ue) vult salvus.... Quis cognovit sensum.... Deus qui p(er)....

TIERCE (fol. 371). Deus in adiutorium... Qui trinus ante... Qualis p(ate)r talis filius.... Gr(ati)a d(omi)ni n(ost)ri....

SEXT (fol. 38r). Deus in adiutorium.... Te trinum deum.... Sicut sigillatum.... Quatuor animalia.... Concede q(uae) sumus....

NONES (fol. 39r). Deus in adiutorium... Tu trinitatis unitas... Necessarium est... Benedictus.... Omnipote(n)s sempit(er)ne deus trina...

VESPERS (fol. 40v). Deus in adiutorium... Sicut anima... Tres sunt... O lux beata... Magnificat anima... Omnipote(n)s sempit(er)ne deus famulos... Tuorum corda fidelium...

COMPLINE (fol. 421). Conv(er)te nos deus.... Deus misereatur... Rex seculorum....

3. The Hours of the Holy Ghost. A folio containing the frontispiece and the beginning of the text of the Hours of the Holy Ghost is missing after fol. 42.

MATINS (fol. 43r). Because of the missing leaf, the beginning of Matins is lacking. The first line of fol. 43 recto is,adoremus alleluia. The rest of Matins includes: Venite exultemus.... (Invitatory, Psalm xciv). Veni creator.... (Hymn). Beatus vir.... (Psalm i). S(an)c(t)e sp(i)r(itus) paraclite qui sup(er).... (Lesson). S(an)c(t)e sp(i)r(itus) paraclite qui merentib(us).... (Lesson). S(an)c(t)e spiritus paraclite qui patre.... (Lesson). Te deum....

LAUDS (fol. 471). Deus in adiutorium... Domine quis habitabit... Disseminabatur v(er)bum... Bene-

dictus.... Deus qui corda fidelium....

PRIME (fol. 49r). Deus in adiutorium.... Deus in
nomine tuo salvum.... Tres sunt qui testimonium....

D(omi)ne deus cui omne....

TIERCE (fol. 50r). Deus in adiutorium.... Deus

in adiutorium... Apparverunt apostolis.... Deus qui ap(osto)lis tuis....

SEXT (fol. 51r). Deus in adiutorium... Fundamenta eius in montib(us).... Raritas dei diffusa est.... Assit nobis q(uae) sumus....

NONES (fol. 521). Deus in adiutorium... Dominus regnavit... Repleti sunt omnes... Mentib(us) n(ost)ris q(uae)sumus...

VESPERS (fol. 53r). Deus in adiutorium.... Factus est repente.... Deus qui corda fidelium....

COMPLINE (fol. 54r). Converte nos d(eu)s... Sepe expugnaverunt... Gratia d(omi)ni n(ost)ri... S(an)c(t)i sp(i)r(itus) corda....

4. The Seven Penitential Psalm (fol. 55v.) Psalm vi,

xxxi, xxxvii, l, ci, cxxix, cxlii.

5. The Litany (fol. 62r, incomplete). The Litany breaks of in the middle of the citation of the apostles, Petre, Paule, Andrea, Joh(ann)es Jacobe,..., as a folio is now lacking between fols. 62 and 63. The Litany resumes on fol. 63 in the midst of the citation of the ills from which we hope to be saved, beginning with Ab ira et odio.... The suffrage, ut e(piscop)us... (fol. 63v), perhaps indicates that the book, in contrast to most of our group, was not written in an archiepiscopal diocese.

6. The Collects (fol. 64r and v). Four of the Collects after the Litany remain and it is possible that this was the original total. They begin respectively; (1) Deus cui p(ro)prium est misereri semp(er)....; (2) Omnipotens sempit(er)ne d(eu)s qui facis mirabilia....; (3) Pretende domine famulis....; (4) Deus qui es s(an)c(t)orum tuorum sple(n)dor.... These are numbers 2, 5, 6, 9 of the series in the Tickhill Psalter.

7. Gradual Psalms and Collects (fol. 65r). The two folios missing before fol. 65 contained some of the sixteen Gradual Psalms (i. e., ordinarily Psalms cxix through cxxxii and Psalm cl). Of the Gradual Psalms there remain only part of Psalm cxxxi, Psalm cxxxii, and Psalm cl. After Psalm cl are two Collects:

(1) Deus cui p(ro)prium est parce...; (2) Omnipotens

sempit(er)ne d(eu)s qui vivorum....

8. The Office of the Dead (fol. 67r): The beginning of the Office of the Dead was on the folio lacking before fol. 67. The remaining portion begins on fol. 67 in the middle of Vespers (or Placebo) with Psalm cxx, Levavi oculos meos.... The Office of the Dead ends with the three Collects following the Benedictus at the end of Lauds, beginning on fol. 91r; (1) Om(ni)p(oten)s sempit(er)ne d(eu)s cui n(um)-qua(m)...; 2) Quesumus d(omi)ne tua pietate...; (3) Fidelium deus omnium conditor.... The last Collect ends on fol. 91v, and the remainder of that page is blank, except for ruling, while fol. 92r is completely blank.

9. The Prayer of the Seven Words (fol. 92v). This prayer of Bede was added to the book by a hand of the fifteenth century. It begins and ends (fol. 93r) as follows: Domine Ih(es)u (Christ)e qui septem verba... per infinita s(e)c(u)lo(rum) s(e)c(u)la. Amen. This ends the text of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, fol. 93v being blank.

VI. ILLUMINATIONS

1. Historiated Illuminations.

The historiated illuminations that survive include two full-page frontispieces to the Hours of the Virgin and of the Trinity, as well as three large initials a high as seven or eight lines of text at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin, of the Hours of the Cross, and of the Seven Penitential Psalms.

Fol. 2v (Fig. 1): Full-page frontispiece of the Hours of the Virgin: The Annunciation. The angel stands on the left clad in a blue mantle lined with vermilion over a robe of darker red. He holds a scroll inscribed AVE. GRATIA PL. The Virgin stands at the right clothed in a pink mantle lined with ermine over blue. She holds a small book and on her head is a white kerchief. Both the angel and the Virgin have blue nimbi and between them is the lily in a white vase. The background is of gold hatched in a lozenge pattern, and near the edge of the gold is a frame of pink, gray, and vermilion with patterns in white and with a spray of trefoliate leaves projecting from the angles.

Below the scene are two figures, each kneeling under a vermilion trefoil arch. At the left is a knight in chain armor over which is a surcoat bearing the arms, Barry silver and azure, on a bend gules three mullets gold. On his ailette are the same arms which, in all probability, are those of Richard Grey of Codnor before the death of his father, Henry Grey. To the right is a lady whose mantle bears the above arms impaled with Chequy gold and azure, on a bend gules (three) lioncels passant silver. These are the arms of Clifford of Frampton, to which have been added a bend apparently charged with the Fitzpayn arms. Thus, the Hours seems to have been executed on the occasion of the marriage of Richard Grey with Joan Fitzpayn, daughter of Sir Robert Fitzpayn and Isabel Clifford. Both of the above arms occur several times elsewhere in the manuscript.

Fol. 3r (Fig. 2): Large initial D of the Hours of the Virgin: The Virgin and Child. The initial is seven lines high. The Virgin, clad in a greenish mantle over a vermilion robe, wears a pink crown and kerchief and holds an apple. On her knee sits the Child in pink and with a pink nimbus, likewise holding an apple. Outside to the left kneels the knight exactly as in the full-page Annunciation described above. On the sides of the page are a series of birds and grotesques as well as five shields (see below, HERALDRY). Below, at the side of the Grey shield, Barry (of six) silver and azure, on a bend gules three mullets gold, kneels the lady with her lap dog behind her. She is here wearing a robe emblazoned with Chequy gold and azure, on a bend gules three lioncels passant silver, which we have seen to be presumably for Joan Fitzpayn.

Fol. 28v (Fig. 4): Full-page frontispiece of the Hours of the Trinity: The Trinity. Within a foliated red and white mandorla God the Father, seated full-face and clad in a pink mantle lined with vermilion over a blue robe, supports the Crucified with His left hand and blesses with His right. Christ, crossnimbed, is depicted on the cross, wounded and with His eyes closed, while the Dove flies toward His left ear. To right and left kneel the knight and lady habited as on fol. 2v. In the corner of the frame are the nimbed symbols of the Four Evangelists, each with a scroll bearing his name.

Fol. 29r (Fig. 5): Large initial D of the Hours of the Trinity; Christ in Majesty. The initial is eight lines high. Christ, cross-nimbed, is seated on a marble bench, blessing, with His left hand resting on the orb. He is dressed in a slate-colored mantle lined with vermilion over a blue robe. On the left the lady kneels habited as on fol. 2v. The border contains three shields and also animals and grotesques.

Fol. 55v (Fig. 6): Large initial D at the beginning of the Seven Penitential Psalms: Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John. This initial of Psalm vi is seven lines high. Christ, with crossed nimbus and wounded side, is on a green cross which is decorated with white patterns. On the left is the Virgin in a slate-colored mantle lined with vair over a pink robe. John is at the right in a gray mantle lined with green over a pink robe. In the borders are shields and grotesques, the three shields being the same as on fol. 29r. In the right border kneels the knight and at the bottom to the left kneels the lady, both habited as before.

If there originally was a large initial at the beginning of the Gradual Psalms it was on one of the two folios now lacking before fol. 65, while that of the Office of the Dead was on the folio missing before fol. 67.

2. Ornamental Illuminations.

INITIALS. The purely ornamental, non-historiated initials that remain include all except the large initials of Matins of the Hours of the Virgin and of the Trinity, and the initial of the first of the Seven Penitential Psalms. The services of the Hours of the Virgin, other than Matins, begin with initials that are three lines high (Fig. 3). The initials for the offices of the Hours of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghost except Matins, are four lines high. Line initials are, naturally, as high as the one line of text. All other initials in the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours are two lines in height.

Initials that are one line high are of gold within colored frames and are decorated with stylized foliate patterns, etc., in white. The initials that are three or four lines high are for the most part ornamented with human busts and heads against a gold background, though some of them are merely decorated with stylized foliate patterns and interlaces. The busts and heads are too numerous to mention and are of both men and women. The female heads almost invariably are covered with a kerchief, while the male heads are generally bare, though occasionally they wear a coif or a peaked cap. In an initial on fol. 22r occurs the bust of a tonsured priest in chasuble and amice, while on fol. 5or is represented the bust of a bishop in a red mitre. The initial of the Prayer of the Seven Words on fol. 92v, added in the fifteenth century is a simple one in gold only.

Occasional examples of the initials that are three and four lines high, such as the initial C on 23v (Fig. 3) are held in the mouth of a dragon. This dragon is identical with designs used for the same purpose in the Greenfield Apocalypse of the British Museum, Royal MS. 15 D. II. Some of the human heads and busts in initials are identical with similar features in the Greenfield Apocalypse, and very similar

to some in the Tickhill Psalter.

MARGINAL BARS. The full-page illuminations at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin and of the Trinity are the only pages with complete borders. The other pages for the most part have marginal bars decorated with stylized foliate and geometric ornament that is often very similar to some of the detail in the Tickhill Psalter. These marginal bars almost without exception spring from initials two or

more lines in height and hence are lacking on pages that contain only one-line initials. On nearly all the pages that have half borders, the marginal bar at the left of the page links together the one-line initials in much the same fashion as in the Tickhill Psalter.

ANIMALS, BIRDS, GROTESQUES, ETC. In the margins of the pages of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, excellent grotesque and naturalistic birds and beasts are employed much more frequently than in the Tickhill Psalter. It has already been noted that at least two of these grotesques are identical with grotesques in the Psalter at Lambeth Palace, MS. 233, and that therefore, again, a common pattern book has been employed. Grotesques occur on the following folios: 3r, 5r, 6r, 7v, 10r, 17v, 19r, 20v, 22r, 23v, 24r, 29r, 33v, 36r, 37r, 38r, 39r, 40v, 42r, 45r, 47r, 49r, 49v, 50r, 51r, 52r, 53r, 54r, 55v, 83r.

LINE ENDINGS. The ornamentation of line

endings involves many different patterns but heraldic designs are not used. The favorite designs involve circular spots of gold, blue fish (frequent also in Lambeth Palace MS. 233), and bits of rinceaux, as well as various stylized geometric patterns, and

HERALDRY. It has already been pointed out that the heraldry offers evidence that the manuscript was executed for the marriage of Richard Grey and Joan Fitzpayn, daughter of Isabel Clifford and Sir Robert Fitzpayn, shortly before 1308. In addition to the Grey and Clifford arms depicted on the clothing of the knight and of the lady who are represented on several folios of the MS., several shields are to be found as part of the marginal decorations of the initial pages of the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Trinity, and the Seven Penitential Psalms. These shields are as follows:

Fol. 3r (Fig. 2): Initial page of the Hours of the Virgin (reading down):

(1) Chequy gold and azure, a fess gules. A Clifford arms, probably for Sir Robert Clifford, Castellan of Appleby, d. 1314 at Strivelin.

(2) Azure, ten lions (4, 3, 2, 1) silver. This is, in all probability, intended to be azure, six lions silver for Sir William Leybourne (or Leyburn), d. about 1309/10, Lord of Leyburn in Kent. The Greys of Codnor were indirectly connected with the Leybournes by marriage. Henry Grey, father of Richard Grey for whom the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours were presumably executed, had married Joan, widow of Sir Ralph Cromwell, while another Cromwell, John Cromwell, married Idoine, widow of Roger Leybourne.

(3) Chequy gold and azure, on a bend gules three lioncels passant silver. A differenced arms of Clifford of Frampton, probably for Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Fitzpayn and Isabel Clifford, daughter of Sir John Clifford.

(4) Azure, a saltire engrailed gold. Probably Sir

John Boylande.

(5) Barry (of six) silver and azure, on a bend gules three mullets gold. This is a Grey arms, presumably for Richard Grey before the death of his father, Sir Henry Grey, in 1308, after which Sir Richard doubtless dropped the on a bend gules three mullets gold. The shield is given the most important location on the page, being in the middle of the bottom margin.

Fol. 29r (Fig. 5): Initial page of the Hours of the

Trinity (reading down):

(6) Chequy gold and azure, on a bend gules three lioncels passant silver, i. e., as no. 3, though with fewer chequers.

(7) Barry (of six) silver and azure, on a bend gules three mullets gold, i. e., as no. 5.

(8) Gules, a cross engrailed gold. Sir Simon Creye.

In 1271 Sir Simon Creye and Sir William Leybourne (see no. 2) were together granted lands forfeited by the Montfort rebels.

Fol. 55v (Fig. 6): Initial page of the Seven Penitential Psalms. This contains exactly the same shields in the same order as found above on fol. 29r.

(9) Same as nos. 6 and 3.

(10) Same as nos. 7 and 5.

(II) Same as no. 8.

The knight is always represented in a surcoat with Barry silver and azure, on a bend gules three mullets gold. This is presumably for Richard Grey before the death of his father Henry. The knight is thus represented on fols. 2v, 3r, 28v, 55v.

The lady is customarily represented in a robe with Barry silver and azure, on a bend gules (three) mullets gold impaled with Chequy gold and azure on a bend gules (three) lioncels passant silver. In other words, these are the arms of Grey, impaled with a differenced Clifford arms probably for Joan Fitzpayn, who is thus represented on fols. 2v, 28v, 29r and 55v, but on fol. 3r her robe bears only the Clifford arms.



Fig. 5-Fol. 29r. Initial page of the Hours of the Trinity

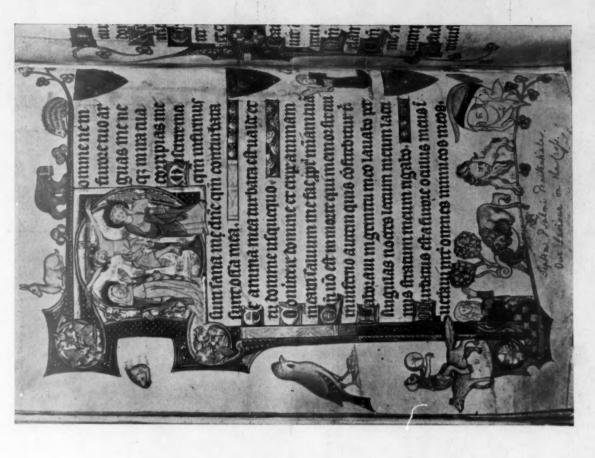


Fig. 6-Fol. 55v. Initial page of the Seven Penitential Psalms

Cambridge, Filzwilliam Museum: The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

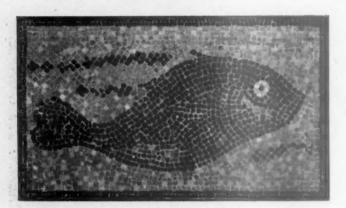


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5 (after drawing)



Fig. 6

Brooklyn, Museum: Fragments of Mosaic Pavement from Hammam Lif

THE MOSAICS OF HAMMAM LIF

By FRANKLIN M. BIEBEL

ECENT advances in Jewish archaeology have served to draw attention to a monument widely known and yet still imperfectly described, the synagogue of Hammam Lif in North Africa. Discovered in 1883 at a time when Jewish art was almost unknown, it caused great interest because of its extensive mosaic pavement and aroused considerable discussion by the "mixed" character of the decoration. Since the discovery, increasing knowledge of synagogue ornamentation leaves little doubt of its Jewish origin, but many details of the mosaic pavement are still uncertain.

Surprisingly little of what is known concerning the building is based on first-hand information, being derived almost entirely from a number of magazine articles which appeared at the time of discovery. Soon after, the mosaics became the subject of controversy, were clumsily removed from the floor, and, except for a few fragments in the Bardo Museum in Tunis, passed into private possession. Despite this meager evidence the synagogue of Hammam Lif has continued to occupy an important place in archaeological writing because it is the most complete monument of its kind in North Africa and because of the unique place which, by reason of its mosaic pavement, it has held until recently among Jewish synagogues. Cohn-Wiener has characterized it as "belonging with the most important artistic paintings of Jewish antiquity and as important for the West as the Palestinian examples for the East."

An opportunity to enlarge and clarify existing knowledge concerning the synagogue of Hammam Lif has been offered by the exibition of the most important known collection of fragments from its mosaic pavement. In private possession for many years and hidden from public view, these fragments have recently been placed on exhibition in the Classical Section of the Brooklyn Museum. The twenty-one sections of mosaic pavement are now preserved as a series of round, square, and rectangular panels (Figs. 1-21—published through the courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum). To describe their history and estimate their value in reconstructing the original pavement, it will be necessary to review briefly the main facts concerning their excavation.

During the spring of 1883 Ernest de Prudhomme, a captain in the French army, was stationed at Hammam Lif, a small village on the seacoast about eleven miles from Tunis. While some of his troops were digging to plant a garden, they uncovered small stone cubes of various colors. The captain, being in his own words, "un peu porté par nature vers les oeuvres d'art," had the excavation continued, and, after several weeks, had uncovered a large room completely paved with mosaic divided into three sections with an inscription in the center, and numerous smaller rooms surrounding, two of which contained additional inscriptions. The discovery was

^{1.} Ernst Cohn-Wiener, Die jüdische Kunst, Berlin, 1929, pp. 115-116.

reported to the Académie des Inscriptions by P. Delattre and Gustave Schlumberger, and these reports, together with Captain Prudhomme's description of the circumstances of discovery, were published in the Revue archéologique of 1883 with the text of the inscriptions.2 The Revue archéologique of the following year contained a reproduction of the mosaic of the main sanctuary, made from a sketch hurriedly prepared by Captain Prudhomme (Fig. 24), a plan of the building (Fig. 22), and facsimiles of the inscription panels.⁸ A second and much more accurate copy of the mosaic of the main sanctuary, prepared by one of Prudhomme's corporals at the time of discovery, was taken to Sfax, where it was photographed by Salomon Reinach and published two years later in the Revue des études juives (Fig. 23).4 Besides making some attempt to show the individual tesserae, this reproduction includes figures, such as the bird above and to the left of the inscription panel, which were omitted entirely by Prudhomme. In the same Revue Reinach published drawings of a marble capital, a terracotta lamp, and a fragment believed to be part of a seven-branched candlestick, which were found in the excavations. The site was re-excavated in 1909 by another army officer, Adjutant Icard, but all traces of the mosaic pavement had disappeared.6

There is no definite information concerning the controversy which led to the raising of the mosaic pavement, during which a large portion was destroyed, nor the manner of division of the remaining fragments. Those involved in the controversy seem to have been Captain Prudhomme, the discoverer, and La Blanchère, director of the Bardo Museum (Musée Alaoui) in Tunis, in company with P. Delattre, founder and director of the Museum of St. Louis in Carthage. Salomon Reinach, writing in 1886 "had reason to believe" that one portion of the mosaic was in the Museum of St. Louis in Carthage and another portion, the most important, in Lyons.7 A short notice by La Blanchère in the following year records the transport of the "mosaics of Hammam Lif" to the Bardo Museum, and four fragments are subsequently listed in its catalogue, the three inscriptions and one fragment from the mosaic of the main sanctuary.9 This is undoubtedly the portion described by Reinach as being in the possession of the Museum of St. Louis in Carthage, but whether obtained originally by La Blanchère or P. Delattre, we cannot be certain.

For confirmation of Captain Prudhomme's possession of a portion of the mosaic, we are forced to wait until his death in 1891. In that year the Society of Antiquaries of France received the gift of a tracing of a portion of the "famous mosaic of Hammam Lif" made from the original which "was put on public sale at the Hôtel Drouot with twenty other portions of the mosaic cut into panels and medallions." The entire lot became the property of "M. Ed. Schenck, a jeweler of Toulouse, who seeks to sell them." 10 The original owner was not mentioned but a second notice, four years later, supplies the missing information. 11 It records an additional gift to

^{2.} Ernest Renan, in Revue archéologique, 1883, i, pp. 157-163.

^{3.} Ibid., 1884, i, pp. 273-275.
4. Kaufmann, in Revue des études juives, XIII (1886), pp. 46-61.

^{5.} Reinach, in Revue des études juives, XIII (1886), pp. 217-223.

^{6.} Icard, in Bulletin archéologique, 1910, pp. claxii ff.

^{7.} Reinach, op. cit., p. 217.

^{8.} La Blanchère, in Bulletin archéologique, 1887, pp. 445-446.

La Blanchère and Gauckler, Catalogue du Musée Alaoui, A, Paris, 1897, p. 12, nos. 15-18.

^{10.} Mowat, in Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 1891, p. 181.

^{11.} H. de Villesosse, in Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 1895, pp. 150 ff.



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

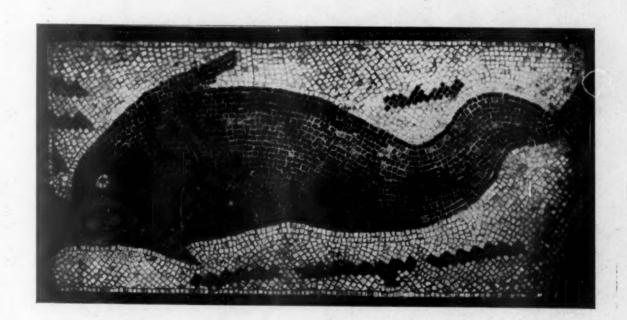
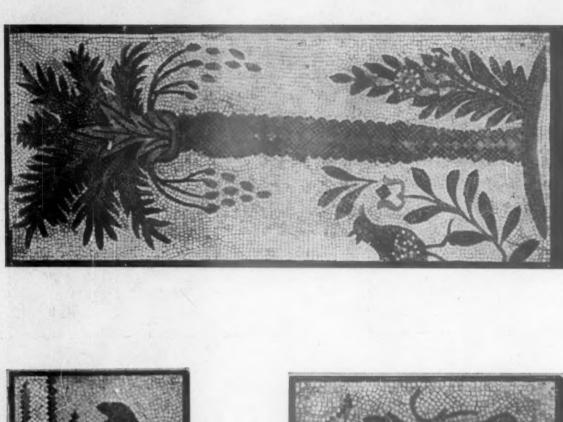


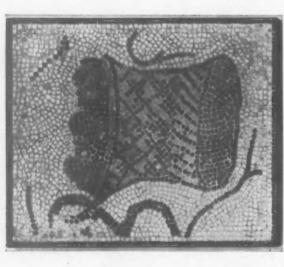
Fig. 9

Brooklyn, Museum: Fragments of Mosaic Pavement from Hammam Lif



F16. 11

Fig. 10



F16. 13

F1G. 12

FIG. 14





the Society of Antiquaries of a series of photographs showing in detail each of the twenty-one mosaics of Hammam Lif "now in possession of M. Ed. Schenck, who acquired them after the death of Captain Prudhomme," and, although the photographs themselves do not appear, a list of the twenty-one fragments, including a detailed description of each, is included in the notice. This is the other and most important portion of the mosaics, described by Salomon Reinach as being in Lyons, whither it must have been taken by Captain Prudhomme. These are the mosaic fragments now on view in the Brooklyn Museum (Figs. 1-21), as appears from the list of H. de Villefosse published by the Society of Antiquaries:

- 1. Rectangular panel—in a lozenge, seven-branched candle-stick flanked by the *ethrog* and *shofar*. Belonging to the large mosaic of the main sanctuary (Fig. 1).
- 2. Rectangular panel—of identical ornamentation, but having undergone some restoration in which the two attributes have been lost. These two enframed the central inscription (Fig. 2).
- 3. Square panel-hyena facing left (Fig. 15).
- 4. Rectangular panel—lion facing left, surrounded by flowers and foliage (Fig. 3).
- 5. Rectangular panel—cock facing right, pecking at grain (Fig. 4).
- 6. Rectangular panel—guinea fowl facing right, in the field flowers and foliage (Fig. 5).
- 7. Rectangular panel-partridge facing right, and foliage (Fig. 16).
- 8. Square panel—duck facing left, surrounded by water-leaves or palm branches (Fig. 6).
- 9. Rectangular panel—duck similar to the preceding but facing right (Fig. 7).
- 10. Rectangular panel—duck swimming on the water (Fig. 8).
- 11. Rectangular panel-fish swimming toward right (Fig. 9).
- 12. Rectangular panel—head of a fish swimming toward the left (Fig. 10).
- 13. Rectangular panel—dolphin swimming towards the left (Fig. 11).
- 14. Rectangular panel—square basket, filled with quinces and foliage (Fig. 12).
- 15. Rectangular panel—round basket, filled with various fruits (Fig. 13).
- 16. Rectangular panel of large dimensions—palm tree with two clusters of dates, two shrubs, a bird (Fig. 14).
- 17. Medallion—decorated with the head of a gazelle (Fig. 17).
- 18. Medallion—decorated with the head of a wild goat (Fig. 18).
- 19. Medallion—decorated with the head of a lion in profile, of a fine style (Fig. 19).
- 20. Medallion—decorated with the bust of a young man, clothed, with long hair, carrying upon his shoulder a pedum (Fig. 20).
- 21. Medallion—decorated with the bust of a woman, wearing a helmet, the right breast bare, carrying a spear on her right side (Fig. 21).

Although these fragments were purchased by the Brooklyn Museum in 1905, their acquisition seems to have attracted little attention. A descriptive article prepared by

H. de Morgan for The New York Times was never published. Some time later the mosaics were taken down and placed in storage, where they remained until the recent rehabilitation of the galleries of the museum by Director Philip Youtz. A final step in tracing their history is to account for the mosaics from 1895, when they were in Toulouse, until 1905, when they were purchased by the Brooklyn Museum. If they were known to have been purchased frem Schenck the story would be complete, but, so far, efforts to discover the dealer's name have been unsuccessful.

* *

Their identity established, the mosaics themselves now claim our attention. In the presence of the actual mosaics a fact is apparent which it was impossible to realize beforehand, namely, that the twenty-one fragments show such differences of style and technique as to suggest that they come from two different sources. In the first group, consisting of fourteen fragments (Figs. 1-14), the average tessera measures one cm. square, while in the second group, consisting of seven fragments (Figs. 15-21), the tesserae average only fifty mm. square. All the mosaics of the first group show bold, linear outlines, an almost two-dimensional quality, with coloring by areas of solid color. Those of the second group, on the other hand, are definitely pictorial in style, with attempts at three dimensionality (as in the three-quarter pose), many interior modeling lines, the use of shadows and high lights which have become stylized by transposition to a more rigid medium. A comparison of Fig. 3 with Fig. 19 shows clearly the stylistic differences separating one group from the other. In color scheme each group will be found to have common characteristics, such as the row of pink tesserae or the contrasting varieties of white which are to be observed in the mosaics of the second group, but noticeably lacking in those of the first. The mosaics belonging to the first group, excepting Figs. 1 and 2, were originally parts of a larger composition, traces of which still surround them. The medallions of the second group, however, contain only a single figure, which was originally enclosed within a leaf border, preserved in its entirety only in Fig. 18. While this series of medallions may have been set out within a larger pavement, each is a self-sufficient artistic unit. The rectangular panels, Figs. 15 and 16, conform least of all, both stylistically and iconographically, with the remainder of the group, but since they exhibit the same technical peculiarities it seems impossible to consider them as belonging elsewhere.

The existence of separate groups was recognized and commented on by de Morgan and the title of his unpublished article, Jewish and Roman Mosaics in the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, is indicative of his belief in their separate origin. Final confirmation of this division is offered by the fact that, with two exceptions to be mentioned later, all the mosaics of the first group can be identified as coming from the mosaic of the main sanctuary of the synagogue, while none of those belonging to the second group can be similarly identified. In view of the complete silence concerning them in the excavation reports, it seems unlikely that the mosaics of the second group were from the synagogue itself, though they may have been



Fig. 16

F1G 15

FIG. 17



Fig. 18



FIG. 20

FIG. 19



FIG. 21

Brooklyn, Museum: Fragments of Mosaic Pavement

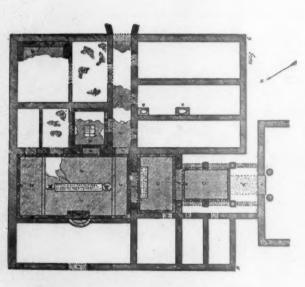


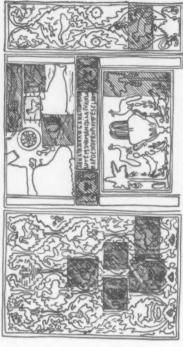
Fig. 22—Plan of Synagogue of Hammam Lif (R.A., 1884)



Fig. 23—Drawing of Mosaic Pavement of Main Sanctuary, Hammam Lif (R.E.J., 1886)



Fig. 24—Drawing of Mosaic Pavement of Main Sanctuary, Hammam Lif (R.A., 1884)



Fragments now in Bardo Museum, Tunis

Fig. 25—Diagram Showing Location of Existing Mosaic from Main Sanctuary of Hammam Lif

found in the surroundings. Earlier stylistically (if not modern),¹² they are much closer to mosaics of the first or second century A. D. than to those of the synagogue. They may have been acquired by Captain Prudhomme at any time during his stay in Africa or after his return to France. Following his death, they were sold with the mosaics of Hammam Lif.

This circumstance undoubtedly accounts for a dilemma which has long existed for the historian of Hammam Lif, whether or no to consider these mosaics, and especially the human busts, as part of the original ornamentation of the synagogue. Opinion seems to have been about equally divided. As early as 1902 Paul Monceaux, in describing the various subjects, concluded with "the bust of a young man, with long hair, holding on his shoulder a stick, and the bust of a woman wearing a helmet and carrying a spear." Cohn-Wiener speaks of the various subjects represented, marveling at the fact that among them were some of a type "known in African villas of the Empire period, but really not appropriate to a synagogue, such as the busts of a man and woman bearing spears." Other historians, such as Krauss to and Leclercq, make no mention of this remarkable addition to synagogue iconography. It is now evident that the latter were following strictly the excavator's accounts, while the former were misled by the list published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1895, in which the other seven fragments were included. As long as Prudhomme's mosaics remained hidden, there was, of course, little possibility of discovering the error.

A comparison of the fourteen fragments of the first group with Reinach's reproduction (Fig. 23) shows that twelve, all except Figs. 4 and 9, can be definitely located. The fish (Fig. 9) might be supposed to have come from the destroyed portion in the center of the mosaic, but a location for the cock (Fig. 4) is more difficult. Especially is this true in view of the fact that he is enclosed by two zigzag lines, usually indicating water. All the mosaics have undergone restoration, however, and this detail need not hinder our acceptance of this fragment. In style, coloring, technique, and size of tesserae, these two fragments are identical with the remainder of the first group, making it difficult to doubt their connection with the synagogue. Several solutions might be offered to account for their non-appearance in the reproductions: (a) they were removed from the pavement before the reproductions were made; (b) they belong to another portion of the building; or (c) they were made up later from ruined fragments, using the original tesserae.

Can anything definite be stated as to the manner of division? The Bardo Museum received the three inscriptions and one fragment from the central mosaic, that containing a duck.¹⁹ If the allotment was made before removal from the ground, it would

^{12.} Details, such as the bared breast of the helmeted female (Fig. 21) which might suggest a modern forgery, can be paralleled in representations of Athena in early Roman mosaics (Reinach, Repertoire des peintures, p. 20, no. 3).

^{13.} Paul Monceaux, in Revue des études juives, XLIV (1902), p. 13.

^{14.} Cohn-Wiener, op. cit., p. 116.

^{15.} Samuel Krauss, Synagogale Altertümer, Berlin, 1922, pp. 340-341.

^{16.} Leclercq, in Cabrol, Dictionnaire d'archéologie

chrétienne, VI2, Paris, 1925, coll. 2042-2048, s. v. Hammam Lif.

^{17.} Gauckler reprints the list verbatim in his Inventaire des mosaïques de l'Afrique, Paris, 1910, pp. 166-168, No. 501.

^{18.} No absolute categories, however, were observed, as shown by the filling in the middle of the top row of the left panel where zigzag lines appear (Fig. 23). In Prudhomme's plate (Fig. 24) they fill the whole area.

^{19.} La Blanchère and Gauckler, op. cit., p. 12, no. 18.

seem that Prudhomme had been given roughly half of each pictorial area (Fig. 25). A considerable portion of the mosaic would then still remain unaccounted for. What is more probable is that the division was made after their removal from the ground, during which a large number were destroyed, and that Prudhomme received a majority of the safely raised portions. Reinach specifically states that two persons were involved in the controversy over the mosaics and that the most important portion was given to Captain Prudhomme. This view is further substantiated by de Villefosse, who, in describing the mosaics, says they were at that time in three portions: one portion, destroyed; a second portion, two inscriptions at the Musée Alaoui (actually three inscriptions and an additional fragment); a third portion, twenty-one panels at Toulouse in the possession of M. Schenck.



From an architectural point of view the ground plan of Hammam Lif has several unusual features. Unlike the Palestinian synagogues, which are definitely linked to the basilical tradition, having usually a nave and two aisles, it contained at least fifteen rooms, suggesting a synagogue which was part of a larger establishment or at least of a very special type (Fig. 22). Extremely interesting is the semicircular niche in the center of the western wall of the main sanctuary. A similar niche has been found in the synagogue of Dura and is believed by Rostovtzeff to have been used for showing the Book of the Law.²⁰ It must have served some other purpose here since the orientation of the inscriptions and the mosaics of the main sanctuary all point toward the usual eastern orientation.²¹

The synagogue of Hummam Lif has been variously dated from the third to fifth century A. D., 22 but it seems probable that the later date is more correct. Although no other African synagogue mosaics are known, mosaics similar in style and subject matter have been discovered in the sixth century Christian church of El-Moussat, also near Tunis. 23 As well as emphasizing the close connections which must have existed between the two communities, these similarities offer the strongest basis for a late date for the mosaics of the synagogue, probably the second half of the fifth century. Apart from the mosaics themselves, there is little upon which to base an opinion. A Jewish lamp which has been dated in the second half of the fifth century 24 and a Corinthian capital of somewhat earlier type, but perhaps reused, were found in the excavations. 25

Specifically Jewish are the cult objects represented on either side of the central inscription in the main sanctuary. Each rectangle has a seven-branched candlestick,

^{20.} M. Rostovtzeff, Römische Quartalschrift, XLII (1934), p. 209. The same opinion is held by Sukenik (Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece, London, 1934, p. 83).

^{21.} Renan (Revue archéologique, 1884, i, p. 275), Leclercq (op. cit., col. 2045), and Cohn-Wiener (op. cit., p. 113) consider it to be the seat of the archisy-

^{22.} Stulhfauth, fourth (Röm. Mitt. 1898, p. 284); Monceaux, third or fourth (op. cit., p. 13); Icard,

fifth (op. cit., p. clxxii); Krauss, third or fourth (op. cit., p. 266); Cohn-Wiener, fourth or fifth (op. cit., p. 117).

^{23.} L. Poinssot, R. Lantier, Atti del III Congresso di Archeologia Cristiana a Ravenna, Rome, 1934, pp. 396-398, figs. 3-9.

^{24.} I am indebted to Mr. Fredrick O. Waagé for information concerning this type of lamp.

^{25.} Reinach, in *Revue des études juives*, XIII (1886), p. 219, fig. 1, and p. 221, fig. 3.

originally flanked by two smaller objects, which have been lost through restoration in the right rectangle (Fig. 2) and even in the left are perhaps modified (Fig. 1). They were first identified as the *ethrog* and *lulab*, 36 but later the second object as the *shofar*, 37 an identification followed by de Villefosse in the above list. Any decision on the basis of the mosaic itself is difficult since the object in its present form is far from decisive. However, the *ethrog* and *lulab* are joint symbols of the Feast of Tabernacles and in other mosaic representations they are grouped together. 28

The remainder of the mosaic of the main sanctuary, excepting that immediately above the central inscription, is largely decorative. The same peacocks, fountain, acanthus leaves enclosing flowers, birds, and baskets of fruit, are to be seen in the Christian pavement of El-Moussat. The upper scene, however, may be of considerable importance in Jewish iconography (Fig. 23). Only one attempt has been made to interpret it. Leclercy, recalling the fact that Hammam Lif is located by the sea, suggested that this scene represented the place itself where the synagogue was built. While not impossible, this seems too literal an interpretation. It seems to me to represent the Creation. Evidence for the use of Old Testament scenes in synagogue decoration is now well established with the frescoes of Dura, while the synagogues of Beth-Alpha and Jerash both contain mosaic pavements with scenes illustrating Old Testament history. Our scene here contains the sea and the dry land, the trees and flowering things of the earth, the fowls of the air and the creatures of the sea, including the monstrous fish, and the creatures of the earth, including cattle. The disk might represent an attempt to combine the luminaries of day and night; while the rays above to its left remind one strongly of the arc of heaven enclosing the Hand of God, as in the Cotton Bible. The closest Christian parallels to the scene are to be found in the Octateuchs. There, as possible in a manuscript, the various acts of Creation are pictured on successive days, whereas our picture would represent an attempt to combine them all in a single composition, excepting only the Creation of Man. (Even this might have been included in the destroyed portion at the left, its destruction due, perhaps, to some later Christian or Islamic iconoclast.) If this interpretation is correct, the synagogue of Hammam Lif may take its place with those monuments of Syria and Palestine which reveal the close relations which existed between Christian and Hebrew art in the early centuries of Christianity.

27. Ibid., 1884, p. 273.

Department of Antiquities of Palestine, III, no. 3, 1933, pl. xlii).

29. Leclercq, op. cit., col. 2044.

^{26.} Ernest Renan, in Revue archéologique, 1883, p. 162.

^{28.} Jerash (Crowfoot, in *Palestine Exploration Fund*, *Quarterly*, October, 1929, pl. iii, fig. 5); Beth-Alpha (Sukenik, *Synagogue of Beth-Alpha*, Jerusalem, 1932, pl. viii): 'Isfiya (Avi-Yonah, in *Quarterly of the*

^{30.} For example, the Serail Octateuch, published in the Bulletin of the Russian archeological institute of Constantinople, XII, Atlas, folios 31r, 32r, 32v, etc.

A COMPARISON OF BYZANTINE PLANNING AT CONSTATINOPLE AND IN GREECE

By JAMES GROTE VANDERPOOL

N considering the predominant influence of the metropolitan school at Constantinople upon the church architecture of Greece after the sixth century, it is well to admit some concurrent pressure from Asia Minor by way of Crete, though it would seem this has already been generously estimated. It is possible to detect some Saracenic, and later, even superficial Gothic features; but these were both only slightly tributary.

We may consider Byzantine architecture as reaching its developed form at the beginning of the sixth century. It was then that the problem of producing a color-encrusted domical style whose structural fabric was to be composed of arches, vaults, and domes on pendentives, was finally solved with clarity.

At that time there existed in the Mediterranean region all the essential elements that were to compose the Byzantine style. The basilican plan existed throughout the whole area—both the multicolumned timber-roof type of the Early Christian church and various significant expressions of Roman engineering genius such as the Basilica of Constantine with its great vaults solidly supported on a few widely spaced important piers, buttressed by barrel vaults.

The circular and the central polygonal plan existed in both ample and complex form, as the temple of Minerva Medica (253-258), Rome; S. Costanza (326-329), Rome; the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna (449 or 458-477); and S. Stefano Rotondo (468-483), Rome.

The simple cruciform plan is found at Ravenna in the so-called Tomb of Galla Placidia (c. 440).

The cruciform plan that exposes the cross only at the second story level above the square ground plan exists in the Praetorium at Musmiyeh in Syria (160-169 A. D.) and in a Roman tomb in Palestine at Kusr-en-Nêuijîs (Fig. 1), where the central dome is continuous with the pendentives (second century A. D.) over a square center bay. Here the cross arms are covered with barrel vaults and small chambers occupy the re-entrant angles of the cross. Thus, it foreshadows the developed domed cross in square type of plan, and in simple form contains its principal elements even to the pendentive.¹

While its elements were not original to it (the pendentive having long been known in the East in Asia Minor, Syria, and even Persia; and in the West at the Roman center)² Byzantine architecture is organized into structural and decorative components far removed from those of its antecedents.

r. G. T. Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture, London, 1910, I, pp. 31-35.

^{2.} Ibid., I, p. 66, fig. 98; II, p. 24, fig. 390.

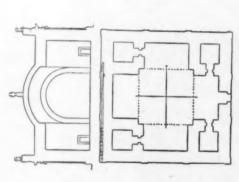


Fig. 1—Kusr-en-Neuijis (Palestine): Plan of Roman Tomb. II Century A.D.

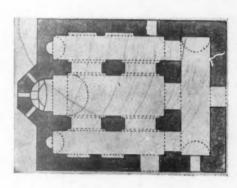


Fig. 2—Castoria: Plan of Basilica of St.-Etienne. XI Century

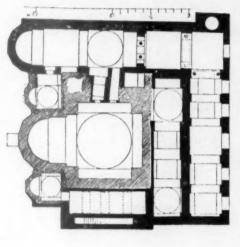


Fig. 3—Constantinople: Plan of Church of the Chora. VI Century; Later Alterations

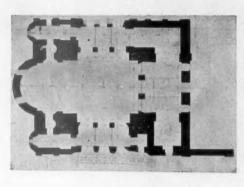


Fig. 4—Constantinople: Plan of Church of St. Theodosia. IX Century

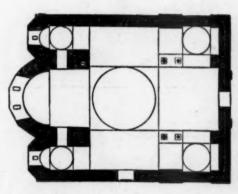


Fig. 5—Feredjik (Thrace):

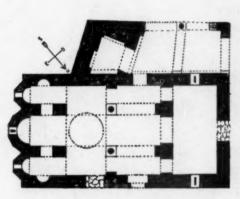


Fig. 6-Mistra: Plan of Church of the Evangelestria. XIV Century

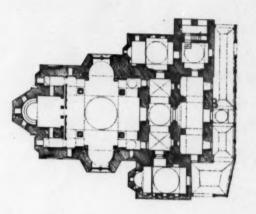


Fig. 7-Mt. Athos: Plan of Church of Iviron. XI Century

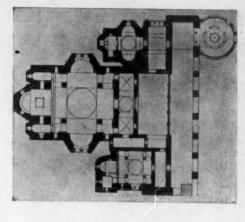


Fig. 8-Mt. Athos: Church of Vatopedi. XI Century

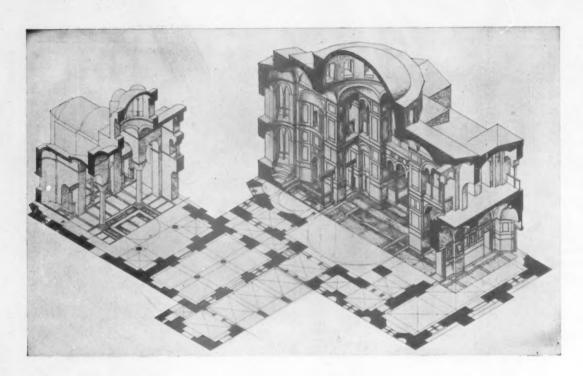


Fig. 9—Isometric Section

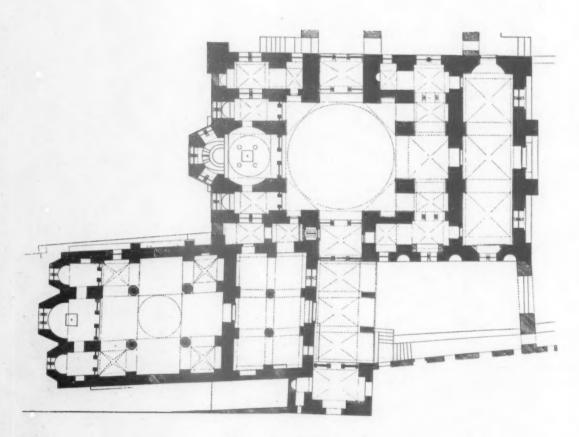


Fig. 10—Plan

Phocis, Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris: Church of the Panaghia and St. Luke of Stiris. XI Century

The chief structural differentia of the style is the pendentive—that perfect device for adjusting the square area in plan to the circular dome. The pendentive gave flexibility to the domical method of construction. The absurdity of an arcuated architecture with all plan units of necessity circular, in order to be covered with domes, is such as to preclude the development of a domical style under such limitations. It must be remembered that Rome used the domical system of construction in confusion with the trabeated style without achieving the pendentive on a grand scale, and so her great domes neither departed from the circular plan nor ever quite forsook the principle of the lintel in their construction. Consequently, Rome failed to add the perfected domical system of construction to the trabeated one perfected by the Greeks in the fifth century before Christ.

It was this Greek intellect working a thousand years later at Constantinople under the stimulus of the engineering triumphs of imperial Rome that first scientifically comprehended the full significance of the pendentive, that previously had been applied only in a half-hearted manner. The great dome of Hagia Sophia, with a diameter of one hundred and seven feet rising to a height of one hundred and eighty feet was an achievement distinct from all previous construction involving the pendentive. More than that, it was a summation of all arcuated construction. The lintel was abandoned. A plastic concept of engineering took its place. The orders were abolished. The whole became in plan, section, and elevation a living organism of arch, vault, and dome design (Fig. 11), so composed and abutted as to make each part structurally and aesthetically necessary, thus fulfilling the requirements of functional design.

The plastic medium was laminated brick construction composed of large thin bricks with wide mortar joints. Stone courses in vertical walls alternated with each three or more rows of brick. Compared with Roman it was much lighter construction, well suited to a climate with hot summers and only moderately cold winters.

The evolution of Byzantine architecture covered a period of a thousand years. In a sense it continues in derived form to the present in ecclesiastical architecture in certain parts of the Balkans and Asia Minor. Chronologically it may be divided as follows: formative period, 395-527 A. D.; first golden age, 527-726; iconoclastic period, 726-867; second golden age, 867-1204; Latin domination, 1204-1261; Byzantine renaissance, 1261-1453; period of derivations, 1453 to the present. The center of the style was Constantinople. Each phase found full expression there, and from there radiated a wide architectural influence.

Byzantine church plans may be classified as follows: the basilican plan; the (domed octagon) simple central plan; the domed basilica; the cross of domes; the domed cross in square plan; miscellaneous infrequent types (trefoil plan with rectangular nave; single hall churches). While examples of these plan types exist over the entire sphere of Byzantine influence, the special problem of this paper is to relate those preserved at Constantinople to surviving examples in Greece.

THE BASILICAN PLAN

The basilican plan did not occur after the fifth century at the capital, while in Greece it continued through the fifteenth century. The only example remaining in

^{3.} Chronology arranged by Professor Kenneth Conant.

Constantinople is St. John the Bapitst's of the Studion (463 A. D.), a three-aisled plan preceded by narthex and atrium. The body of the church has the simple divisions of nave and side aisle characteristic of Early Christian Rome with the high nave separated from each side aisle by a heavy arcade of seven arches supported by marble columns bearing fine Corinthian capitals. A carved marble entablature flows the length of the interior over the nave arcade in line with the floor of the ample gynecaeum or triforium gallery, which in turn opens on the nave with a second arcade carried on slender columns. The present hip roof is low and almost continuous in slope with that over the side aisles, but doubtless replaced a higher timber trussed roof that allowed clerestory lighting.4 The nave terminates in a single large apse with a polygonal exterior. The church is broad for its length (71'×82'). The narthex is divided into three bays, the middle one of which opens to the atrium through a portico of four fine Corinthian marble columns bearing an elaborately carved Corinthian entablature. Thus, it may be seen that essentially this is a Christian basilica of definitely Roman formula with little to betray its Eastern location except its extreme breadth and certain details in handling of the marble sculpture. There is no prophecy of the domical style to come.

On the other hand, in Greece the basilican plan was widely used and became simpler and more crudely handled as it receded from Byzantium.⁵ Sixth century examples remain in St. Philip's at Athens and the church at Calabacca. Both are of the later type and carry timber trussed roofs.

At Castoria there are two eleventh century churches, St. Anargyres' and St. Stephen's, with nave, side aisles, and narthex covered with barrel vaults. The nave in each case is higher than the aisles and the vaults are carried on two heavy arches resting on massive piers. The main apse projects and is semicircular on the exterior of St. Anargyres' and polygonal at St. Stephen's (Figs. 2 and 18). The apses at the ends of the side aisles are built within the thickness of the walls at the east end. They serve as the prothesis and diaconicon. Simple pitched roofs covered with tile, protect the vaults and finish with pedimentlike effect at the east and west ends. The masonry of both churches is characteristic of Greece in that the joints, both horizontal and vertical, are marked with lines of tile. The arches of the windows are enriched with a band of bricks with narrow ends exposed on the diagonal. Of the two, St. Stephen's is the more devoloped but both are meager in conception and small in scale.

The church of Hagia Sophia at Ochrida (Fig. 19) is a more interesting example. The nave and aisles are better proportioned, separated by five arches, and barrel vaulted. Each aisle ends in an important apse projecting from the body of the east end. The minor ones are semicircular on the exterior, the main one polygonal and each is penetrated with windows. There is a spacious groin vaulted narthex and staircase at the west end. An unusual device occurs in the side apses in that they are surmounted by smaller apses that open onto the gynecaeum. A continuous pitched roof covers the vaults of both nave and aisles. A brick cornice crowns the apses.

^{4.} Alex. Van Millengen, Byzantine Churches in Constantinople, London, 1912, p. 52.

^{5.} Gabriel Millet, École grecque, dans l'architecture byzantine, Paris, 1916, p. 11.

^{6.} Millet, op. cit., pp. 40-43. It is to be noted that this example lies north of the present Greek territory.

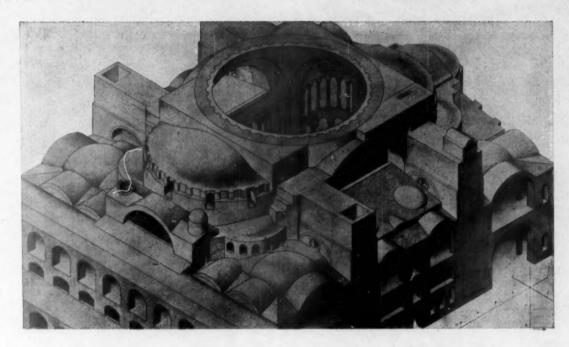


Fig. 11 - Constantinople: Diagram of Arcuated Structure of Hagia Sophia. VI Century

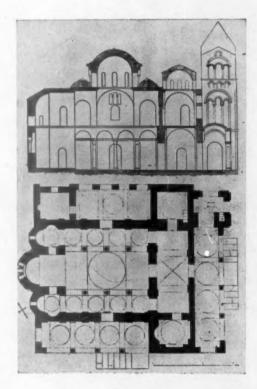
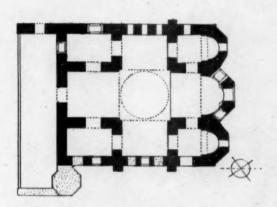


Fig. 12—Mistra, Brontocheon Monastery: Plan of Church of the Panaghia. XIII Century



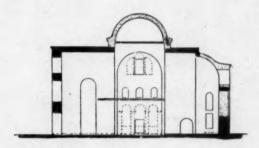


Fig. 13—Constantinople: Plan and Section of Sts. Peter and Mark's. IX Century

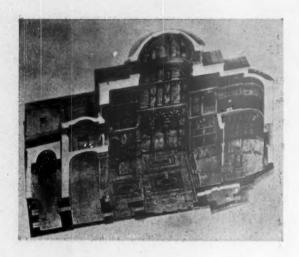


Fig. 14—Constantinople: Isometric Section of Church of St. Mary Diaconissa. IX Century

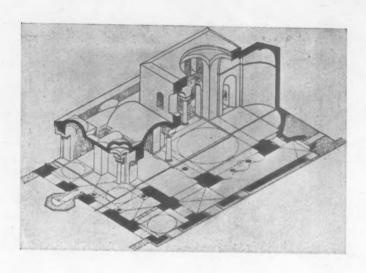


Fig. 15—Constantinople: Isometric Section of St. Andrew in Krisei.

VI Century

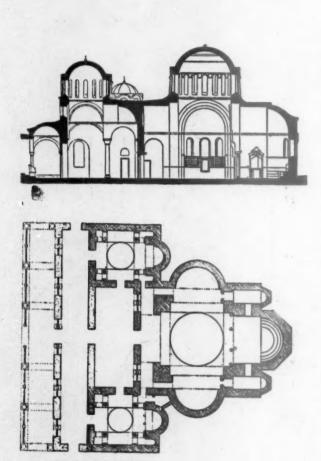
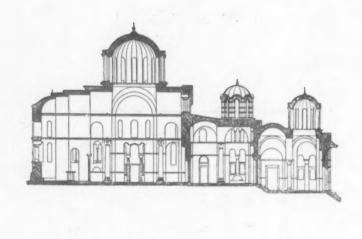


Fig. 16—Mt. Athos: Section and Plan of Monastery Church of Lavra. X Century



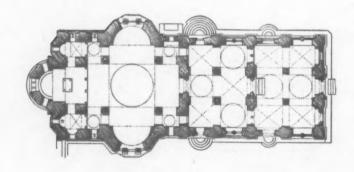


Fig. 17—Mt. Athos: Section and Plan of Church of Chilandari

One of the windows of the main apse shows a blind quadrant arch abutting the arch around the window, a device found likewise in Constantinople. Blind arcading is used under the eaves of this apse, a simplification of the scheme used on the Pareclession of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fig. 22) and St. Theodore's at Constantinople. In all, this church at Ochrida is the most important of the Greek basilican examples.

THE SIMPLE CENTRAL PLAN

The central plan, either round or polygonal in form, is one that has not been constant in Byzantine architecture. Simple forms of the plan such as the Baptistery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, directly follow Roman models found in mausolea or in baths. The more complex plans such as at the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople are related to those of the temple of Minerva Medica in Rome, Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome. The central nave with four diagonal apses (or eight apses at S. Vitale, Ravenna, the most developed church of this type), while useful in establishing the domical motif and fuller arcuated construction, proved an inconvenient type of plan for the expanding ritual of the Christian church. However, in neither the example at Constantinople nor the one at Ravenna are pendentives used. The church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus employs a melon-shaped dome that clumsily covers its octagonal plan by setting the concave areas of the segments of the dome over the eight angles and trusting largely to their high position to conceal the awkward junction. S. Vitale employs niche-shaped squinches to support the dome on the octagonal plan.

The idea of buttressing a central dome by apses that rise against its supports, proved of definite value in subsequent construction. We meet it in a multiplied and expanding form at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, where great apse forms buttress the central dome on two sides and in turn are themselves buttressed by smaller apses at their diagonal points. A whole group of churches at Mt. Athos use the apse to buttress their central dome on the north and south as well as the east arms of the cross. The thirteenth century church of St. Mary of the Mongols⁸ at Constantinople, with apses on all four sides originally, frankly expressed the quatrefoil plan, but it has been much altered and two of the apses awkwardly replaced with nave, one side aisle, and a stunted north transept arm to balance the south apse. At the church of St. Andrew in Krisei⁹ the north and south apses are Turkish additions. The church of St. Nicholas Methana, 10 the church of the Panaghia Coubelitissa at Castoria, 11 examples at Saloniki, in Armenia and Georgia, all make use of the apse form of buttress.

Choisy suggests that the central plan as represented by such a domed octagon as that of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus is the ultimate point of departure for the type of plan found at St. Luke's in Phocis and at Daphni. In some respects this derivation appears logical. The opening of prothesis and diaconicon as well as the bema into the circular nave is only a natural attempt to create a more spacious effect for the central

 ^{7.} Ibid., p. 43.
 8. Van Millengen, op. cit., p. 279.

^{9.} Ibid., p. 119.

^{10.} Ibid., p. 279.

^{11.} Millet, op. cit., p. 93.

room. Characteristic of central planning is the sacrifice of the utility of the aisles as such: they lose their apse terminations and their view into the nave.

The type of St. Luke's and Daphni is called by Millet ¹⁸ "the church with the angle squinches," for it is by means of the squinch that the square is converted into an octagon, that, in turn, carries the dome on pendentives. Until recently it was thought this scheme did not occur in the metropolitan area, but rather had its developed examples confined to Greece. However, Clavijo ¹⁸ has left a written description of the church of the Peribleptos at Constantinople which reveals it to have been of the Daphni type in both plan and section. Not sufficient detail is given to allow definite comparison of the work of the two schools.

Millet and Strzygowski concur in the opinion that the church of the Nestorians at Amida (studied by General de Beylié) is probably the common parent of both the Greek and Constantinopolitan examples of the type.14 They trace the development through the somewhat better composed church of Christianou in Triphylie 15 to the finely composed plan of the larger eleventh century church of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis (Figs. 9 and 10), where bema, prothesis and diaconicon all open directly into the circular nave. The cross arms are groin vaulted as are the aisle apartments, the narthex, and the various galleries which occur over the angles of the cross, the cross arms, and the narthex. The final development occurred in the later eleventh century church of Daphni and in the twelfth century Hagia Sophia at Monemvasia, 16 where fuller symmetry is attained and the galleries omitted to lighten the effect of the interior by combining the arch order of the nave and gallery into a single order of great vertical emphasis. The effect was worthy the means, as a design of genuine nobility resulted. The proportions were remarkably harmonious, the scale most carefully studied and the integrity of design worthy of Greece in the fifth century B. C. At Daphni the effect, in its baldly restored interior, is full of drama and depth, yet the dome is a scant twenty-six feet in diameter. By the time, however, of the thirteenth century church of St. Theodore, Mistra, 17 vitality has departed from the design and a thin elegance taken its place.

This type in developed form occurred only in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Although aesthetically successful it soon lost favor because of the large amount of waste space it involved and its restricted nave area. Except for this later formula the central plan did not occur in Greece, doubtless because it passed out of currency before the more settled conditions of the ninth century in Greece allowed the construction of churches of importance.

THE DOMED BASILICA

The domed basilica occurred at Constantinople and in Greece but was very differently handled in the two places. Hagia Sophia (532-537) in Constantinople is the outstanding example. It, in common with all examples of this type, has the longitudinal axis as the principal determinant in the plan composition. It is without cross arms, has

^{12.} Millet, op. cit., Chap. 4.

^{13.} Charles Diehl, Manuel d'art byzantin, Paris,

^{1910,} p. 422. 14. Millet, op. cit., p. 108.

^{15.} Ibid., p. 108.

^{16.} Ibid., p. 113.

^{17.} Millet, Monuments byzantins de Mistra, Paris, 1910, pp. 20-21.

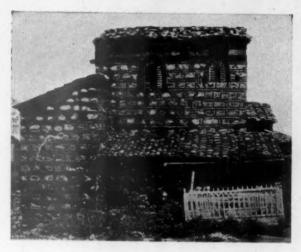


Fig. 18—Castoria: Basilica of St.-Etienne. XI Century



Fig. 19—Ochrida: Church of Hagia Sophia



Fig. 20—Merbaca (Morea):
Church



Fig. 21—Constantinople: Church of St. Saviour Pantepoptes

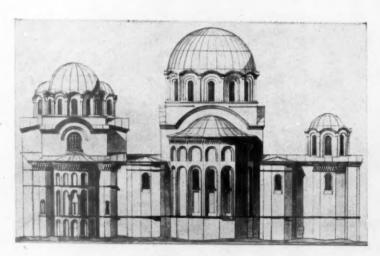


Fig. 22—Constantinople: Elevation of St. Mary Pammakaristos

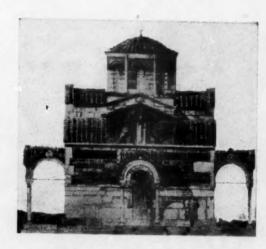
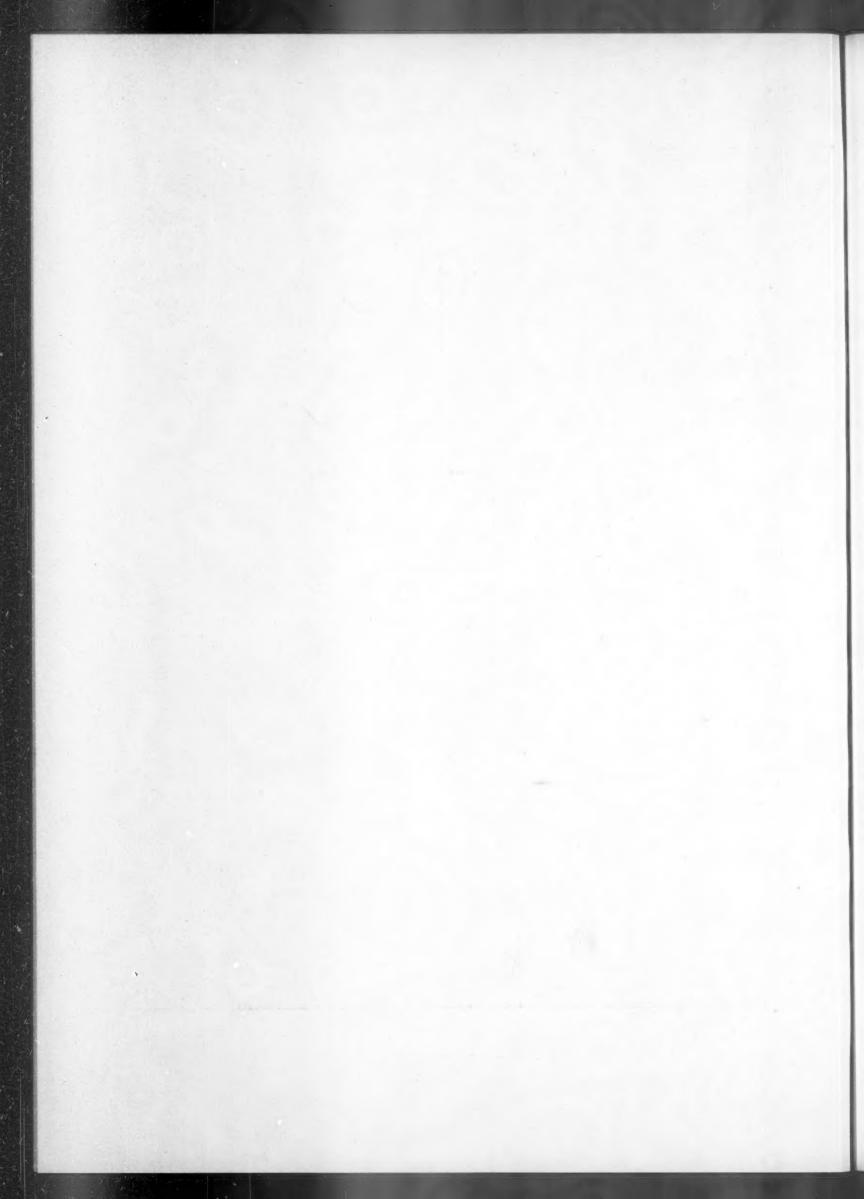


Fig. 23—Merbaca (Morea): Restoration of Façade of Church



longitudinal side aisles and second story galleries or gynecaea above them and over the west end. Clerestory lighting is effected through windows in the lunettes of the great north and south arches as well as by the windows in the base of the domes and semidomes. The great difference between this and all other examples lies in the completeness of its structural conception. Its articulation lacks only diagonal buttressing on its main piers to perfect it; as it is, it equals any existing structure, irrespective of style, in the complete sanity of its structural organization (Fig. 11). Strzygowski considers the main conception to be of Eastern origin—but any estimate that neglects the relationship of this structure to that of the Basilica of Constantine in Rome must be considered incomplete. Indeed, the further one studies the origin of the developed Byzantine method of planning, the more one is conscious that it did not draw its inspiration with singleness of purpose from either the East or the West alone, but, exercising royal prerogative, drew from each. The great nave of three bays in both cases, with vaults supported on a few widely spaced piers with arcuated buttressing bears definite analogy, even if the later example be a more domical expression than the earlier one, and the stimulus of the scale of imperial Rome and the urge to emulate the engineering genius of this same Rome was altogether a strong contributory factor to the building of Hagia Sophia.

St. Irene's and the church of the Chora (Fig. 3) are the only other domed basilicas in the capital. Both have been much altered. St. Irene's was converted into a basilican plan during its eighth century rebuilding when the second dome (on rectangular plan) was erected over the original inner narthex of the domed cross.

The church of the Chora, while not rebuilt, suffered alteration and addition that obscured its original basilican plan. The scheme here was a square nave with massive corner piers rising to carry drum and dome on pendentives. Within the great north and south arches a screen of three minor arches on columns connected the massive piers and gave access to the long barrel-vaulted side aisles that opened on the inner narthex of five bays, of which the north and south ones are covered with domes on pendentives. The east end of the aisles terminated in ample chapels domed and with apses that adjoined the bema. Galleries occurred over the side aisles, but not over the narthex, yet clerestory lighting was obtained on the north, west, and south sides in the upper parts of the lunettes of the great arches. Later, an outer narthex, and pareclession on the side of the church were added. The symmetry of the narthex was destroyed and the south aisle filled by minor constructions except for the passage that connects the naos with the pareclession. The beautiful nave arcades were removed at this time and the openings between the bema and side chapels were also walled up. The original plan is of the sixth century; the alterations are of the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. The conception of the church is bold, solidly molded, and strongly domical in all its parts. It betrays the acceptance of the formula set by Hagia Sophia not so much in repetition of actual elements as in frank acceptance of the principles of construction. As first built, the structure was organically composed and articulated but lacked the great feeling of lightness evident on the interior of Hagia Sophia today. The kinship of these two churches with the early church of Hagia Sophia at Salonika should be noticed.

In Greece there is little evidence to indicate a connection between the domed

basilicas there and those at Constantinople. The whole spirit of the work is so essentially different that another source of influence must be deduced. One is inclined to agree with Strzygowski 18 rather than with Wulff, and accept as their origin the basilicas of Syria and Asia Minor rather than the churches at the metropolitan center. The striking peculiarity of the Greek examples lies in the way the cruciform church was superposed on the simple basilican plan with a continuous nave arcade.

There is no indication on the poché of the plan to indicate that a second story cruciform domed mass had been joined to it. The practice was not crudely accomplished; our disapproval is expressed rather at the fault in the underlying theory of composition that allows a dome to be casually suspended over two bays of a continuous arcade, and permits a barrel-vaulted transept to be unreflected in the composition of the first story. Not only is the Greek domed basilica of independent origin but it is also older in type than those at Constantinople. The same method of placing the dome over the

arcade was in use in the fifth century at Miriamlik near Seleucie.19

The church of the Panaghia in the Brontochion monastery at Mistra (Fig. 12) is the classic example of this type in Greece. The church in plan is a three-aisled basilica with tri-apsidal termination. A spacious narthex is employed with a combination of cross and barrel vaults terminating at the north and south ends in a square apartment, each roofed with a dome carried on pendentives. The nave arcade is four equal bays in length. Over the two middle bays a wide soffited barrel vault springs at gallery level and extends from the line of the nave to the outer wall; across the nave at the first and fourth bays similar barrel vaults spring; from this cruciform foundation a dome on drum and pendentives rises. The side aisles and the angles between the cross arms at the gallery level are covered with small domes—the last four rise above the roof line and abut the center dome. An effect of five domes is thus produced. At the west end there is a gallery over the narthex that carries a dome over its center bay. The east end of the church is distinct from the cross form and has arched passages connecting its three apses. The tall proportions of the church, its narrow windows and multidomed exterior betray its late (thirteenth century) date. An elegant open porch with arcades occurs on both the west and north sides of the church and seems part of the original design. Like the aisles within the church, both porches are vaulted with shallow domes over each bay. The south porch and apartment at its east end are of later date. Of some interest is the bell tower on the south end of the main façade. It is of Frankish design, related to such towers in Auvergne as Notre Dame-le-Puy. This is another check as to date since it must have been constructed under Frankish influence during the period of the Latin domination.

The church of the Holy Apostles at Leondari 20 and the church of the Blachernae at Arta 21 are related to the Mistra example in type and date.

THE CROSS OF DOMES

The cross of domes affords a plan of church well recognized, but it was little followed. Such a church existed on the site of the temple of Marnas at Gaza

19. Millet, École grecque..., p. 104.

^{18.} Josef Strzygowski, *Kleinasien*, Leipzig, 1903, 20. *Ibid.*, p. 103. p. 104. 21. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

(destroyed 402 A. D.), but the first documented example was Justinian's church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople—however, this example was a "built up" one, representing a series of additions to the mausoleum built by Constantine that came finally to take the cross of domes formation. The characteristics of this type are a free-standing cross plan with or without aisles to nave and transept which are vaulted by a series of domes separated by wide soffited arches. The domes occur over nave and transept—not in the re-entrant angles of the cross. Generally five major domes are employed: one at the crossing and one over each arm of the cross. The piers are of massive square formation, and when aisles and galleries are employed, they penetrate through the piers by means of simple vaulted passages. The arches separating the vaults and seating the pendentives are equal in width to the piers.

This type arose from an effort to memorialize the Sacred Cross and was never completely satisfactory. It is difficult to articulate as this placement of the domes left angle thrusts of the central mass relatively unopposed. The plan lacks the strong unity evident in other domical types. This alone of the important domical experiments of Byzantium is not a design of fixed or predetermined mass. This is not a closed organism but capable of further expansion by simply extending the scheme. Such expansion would be impossible to effect in Hagia Sophia, for example, without disintegrating the entire design organism (Fig. 11).

This plan is not known to have occurred in Greece. St. Mark's in Venice is a brilliant example of the domed cross, being in a large measure derived from the church of the Holy Apostles. The influence of this plan carried over to Romanesque France and is strongly felt in the provincial offshoot of St.-Front at Perigueux and less so in the Latin cross, aisleless cathedral at Angoulême.

How strong an influence this particular type had on the development of the Western cathedral plan through such examples as S. Michele at Pavia, the cathedral of Pisa, St.-Sernan of Toulouse, Santiago de Campostella, Chartres, and Rheims cannot as yet rise beyond the field of conjecture.

THE DOMED CROSS IN SQUARE PLAN

The domed cross in square plan is one of profound importance in Byzantine architecture. Considerable variety occurs under this broad classification, but these churches may always be detected by: their bold cross inscribed in a square, the importance of the vertical axis, and the tendency to express more complete symmetry along both the transverse and longitudinal axes allowing expansion of the east end.

This type is a natural development from the domed basilica. The urge to enlarge or open up the latter by the introduction of full-height barrel-vaulted transepts (within the square) resulted in the formation of this plan. By comparing the plan of the church of the Chora (Fig. 3) with that of the ninth century church of St. Theodosia (Fig. 4) we may see how readily this was accomplished.

^{22.} O. M. Dalton, East Christian Art, Oxford, 1925, p. 100.

^{23.} Ibid., p. 103; Cornelius Gurlett, Die Baukunst Konstantinopels, Berlin, 1907, figs. 1-5.

^{24.} The restored sixth century plan given by Van Millengen, op. cit., on p. 314 makes this especially clear

At first, recollection of the side aisles of the basilican plan remained in the arcade that connected the main piers and carried a gallery on the north and south sides and also over the narthex. The four arms of the cross each rose to the same height and were covered with barrel vaults that opened to the nave.

At St. Theodosia's in the re-entrant angles of the cross were placed domed chapels, that effectively buttressed the main piers of the dome. These were expressed on the exterior and resulted in a multidomed silhouette.

This five-domed formula was first determined by the noted church of Basil I (867-886), dedicated to Christ, the Virgin, and Sts. Gabriel, Elias, and Nicholas, but called the "Nea" or New Church. Constantine Prophyrogenitus and the Patriarch Photius have left accounts of the church praising the invention of its plan and extolling the unparalleled beauty of its sumptuous decorations; but they neglected to discuss the structure, except to comment that it was a cross plan of equal arms inscribed in a square and crowned by five domes, not placed as in the church of the Holy Apostles, but in the angles of the cross to form a square plan.²⁵

The church of St. Mary Diaconissa (Fig. 14), of the ninth century, marked the next step in the development of this type by omitting the galleries in the cross arms and leaving only boxes or loges in the re-entrant angles of the cross at the second floor level to accentuate the effect of spaciousness. Sts. Peter and Mark's (Fig. 13), of the ninth century, next omitted the loges entirely and allowed the piers to rise uninterruptedly to the line of the springing of the dome and barrel vaults. Since churches were becoming smaller and smaller at this time the piers were soon replaced by free-standing columns as in St. Theodore's of the twelfth century, that so left the floor plan surprisingly clear and open. This provided a plan that proved so highly acceptable, both in its practical and aesthetic aspects, that after the twelfth century practically all churches were of this type or closely associated with it. In fact, no church of importance entirely built after the tenth century and surviving to the present in Constantinople is of any other type except that of St. Mary of the Mongols.

In Greece the examples of the domed cross in square plan are related to this late type with but few exceptions. The transitional church at Skripou in Boeotia (874 A.D.), of very heavy appearance, has a plan which supports the dome by means of projecting the walls of apse, transepts, and west arm solidly forward. Chambers in the re-entrant angles of the cross do not entirely fill them, so that the north and south arms of the cross project slightly beyond the square plan. This is the nearest Greek experiment to the type of Sts. Peter and Mark's.

The free-standing-culumn plan in Greece does not come directly from Constantinople but rather from such examples as the church at Feredjik (Fig. 5) in Thrace, a primitive plan type of the equal limbed cross in square. Here the central dome rests on the antae of the bema on the east and on pairs of columns at the west end. This destroyed the symmetry of the church and often has been remarked as a corruption of the four-column scheme at Constantinople (the smaller church of the Panaghia at

^{25.} Diehl, op. cit., p. 406. F. Kimball and G. H. Edgell give a hypothetical plan in their *History of Architecture*, New York, 1918, p. 189, fig. 79.

St. Luke's in Phocis, Figs. 9 and 10, is a faithful offshoot of the metropolitan examples but on Greek territory). Millet, however, states that the symmetrical scheme at Constantinople is a newer development, which arose when architects sought to enlarge the simpler plan without destroying the design organism. This preserved all four arms of the cross and simply attached the complete east end of bema prothesis and diaconicon to the east arm of the cross, making a more spacious and correctly organized Greek cross. This difference of support of dome and attachment of the east end, Millet says, is the real difference between Greek and Constantinopolitan churches of the domed cross in square plan with columnar supports. The complex plan remained characteristic of the metropolitan school and the simple plan held in Greece. Toward the end of the Second Golden Age and during the Byzantine Renaissance at such a center as Mt. Athos, where Constantinopolitan influence was strong, we find the Metropolitan formula being used or being combined with others. For example, at Mistra the fourteenth century churches of the Evangelestria (Fig. 6), Hagia Sophia, and the Peribleptos are all three of the simple or two-column plan characteristic of Greece; while at Mt. Athos we see the complex, or metropolitan, type being combined skillfully with a trefoil plan, so that the result is at once reminiscent of Constantinople and characteristic of Greece in that the trefoil termination was assembled there and not taken up by the city on the Bosporus,

At Constantinople the church of the Myrelaion (tenth century)²⁷ the Pantocrator (eleventh century)²⁸ and St. Theodore (twelfth century)²⁹ are characteristic of the development there. In Greece the church of the Metropole (tenth century); the Kapnikarea (eleventh century) both at Athens, and the church of the Panaghia at St. Luke's in Phocis (eleventh century, Figs. 9 and 10) are a few of those representative of the Greek formula.

Special interest centers in the composite plans at Mt. Athos because of their highly successful addition of the trefoil to the domed cross in square plan. This successfully enlarged the church and greatly enhanced the plastic design of both interior and exterior. The earliest example there is the tenth century monastery church of Lavra (Fig. 16). In this instance the body of the church is similar to such a domed basilica as the church of the Chora, to which formation the apsidal transepts were added. The four-column trefoil type is represented by the eleventh century Iviron (Fig. 7) which makes a cautious use of double nartheces and important pareclessia opening off their ends; at Vatopedi (Fig. 8), also eleventh century, the pareclessia became complete little churches of the four-columned domed cross in square plan and of the trefoil type respectively; at fourteenth century Chilandari (Fig. 17) the double nartheces become forechurches continuing along the main axis of the church proper, vaulted with a combination of domes and groin vaults. These churches on Mt. Athos demonstrate a fine sense of design and show an elaborate sense of plan.

St. Mary of the Mongols is the only trefoil church in Constantinople.

At Constantinople there are several surviving churches that while they suggest the domed cross in square plan have in common a divergent feature that seems to warrant

^{27.} Ibid., p. 200, figs. 66-67.

^{28.} Ibid., p. 240, fig. 77, north and south churches.

special mention. The churches of St. Andrew in Krisei (sixth century, Fig. 15), St. Mary Pammakaristos (eighth century) 30 and St. Mary Panachrantos (eighth or tenth century) 12 each have a continuous one-story aisle that flows around the north, west, and south sides of the central domed area, opening through arcades into the central area on these three sides. Clerestory lighting is thus allowed on all three sides at the second floor level. There is no suggestion of cross form, yet the planning is obviously around a central axis. This type is found only in the metropolitan area and because of its early date must be considered as a step between the domed basilica and the developed domed cross in square plan. We may call it the ambulatory plan.

While there exist isolated diminutive examples of various other plans, as the little trefoil church of Coubelitissa at Castoria, and the hall plans involving in a simple way both dome and barrel vaults, they are without significance in connection with

this paper.

Conclusion

From this brief study of Byzantine church planning at Constantinople and in Greece, it may be seen that prior to the ninth century there was relatively little metropolitan influence in Greece to judge by the backward and inorganic quality of the work there. Close relationship developed after the ninth century even though differences in technique were clear, such as the characteristic use of tile to mark both the horizontal and vertical joints of the masonry, and the wide use of antique fragments and marble blocks, as seen in the church of the Metropole at Athens and in the example at Merbaca (Fig. 20). This was a provincial usage not current at the capital. The tile sometimes composed cufic letters set intermittently through the masonry. This was due to Anatolian influence, which occurred only in the south. The basilica and the domed basilica found only meager interpretation in Greece, while attaining great importance elsewhere. The cross of domes occurred rarely in Constantinople and not at all in Greece. The plan of the type of St. Luke's and Daphni attained its fullest expression in Greece, yet it too was known in the north. The developed ambulatory plan occurred only in Constantinople. The domed cross in square plan ending in a trefoil was found only at Mt. Athos though its central body was composed according to the four-columned domed cross in square plan that was the property of Constantinople's sphere of influence. The central plan of the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was not found in Greece, yet the plan of St. Luke's and Daphni seems logically to be derived from it. Important differences in the handling of the doomed cross in square plan existed between the two schools. The open porch was freely used in Greece, often with great charm as at Merbaca (Fig. 23), but was almost unrecorded at Constantinople. When Frankish influence penetrated Byzantium in the thirteenth century it was felt alike in north and south.

An interesting check on the close relationship between the two centers is the uniform way in which were reflected various changing stylistic qualities of design:

1. From the sixth to the ninth century the general mass was compact and

slightly heavy. Domes were sleek, low and of slight projection. Drums, when used were cylindrical, massive, and low (Fig. 14).

- By the tenth century at both centers, the drums had become polygonal and decorated with engaged columns bearing arcades. The domes had become higher.
- 3. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries the drum arcades penetrated the dome (Fig. 21). By the twelfth century elaborate exterior decoration was sought by the use of niches, further use of engaged columns, blind arcades, and additional string courses. Multidomed effects were now consistently sought (Fig. 22).
- 4. Sleek enlargement of the bema, prothesis, and diaconicon was effected at both centers by making each tri-apsidal (see the bema of the large church of St. Luke's and all three apses of the church of the Myrelaion).
- 5. At the end of the Second Golden Age and in the Byzantine Renaissance the barrel vaults came to be more frankly expressed on the exterior, as in the church of the Chora and Greek examples.
- 6. Changes in characteristic handling of windows are concurrently followed.
- 7. Marble revetment and use of mosaics were more common in the metropolitan sphere of influence due to greater economic facility—but they occurred in Greece and followed in a large measure the changes made at the capital in marble, mosaic, and fresco.
- 8. Methods of iconography were naturally very largely the same.

It would seem that while differences did occur in these two schools, while certain forms may have had their origin in different parts, and certain traits proved popular at one center and not at the other, the life flow of social, economic, and cultural habits between these two areas was vital enough to fuse diverse influences and practices into the same coherent style.

REVIEWS

Donatello: Eine Einführung in sein Bilden und Denken. By Hans Kauffmann, VIII, 262 pp., 36 pls. Berlin, Grotesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935.

After a number of careful preliminary studies on Donatello and his period, of which I wish to mention especially an article on the predecessors of the master in the stonemason workshop of the cathedral in Florence,1 Dr. Kauffmann presents us in this volume with nothing less than a new comprehensive book on Donatello. The author himself is the last to forget the enormous difficulties the writing of such a book must encounter, and so he calls it very modestly "an introduction into the mind and the art of the master." He excuses himself in this way for a certain lack of completeness in regard to detail: he does not wish to discuss every controversial point, every question of attribution, and the like. It would have been almost impossible to collect the enormous material referring to Donatello completely, to discuss every point brought up in the preceding literature, and yet write a legible book, and a book which would give an interpretation of the essentials in the master. And precisely in this Dr. Kauffmann has succeeded

His aesthetic appreciation of Donatello's art, his historical interpretation of the master's relations with his predecessors, his surrounding, and his followers are not only profounder than most of what has been written before, but in important parts they lead to absolutely new conclusions. And, as Dr. Kauffmann rightly points out, what was really needed after a long period of careful, often even too painstaking, detailed study, was a thorough revision of our general conception of Donatello. We were almost losing sight of the figure of the artist himself in the confusion of hundreds of more or less interesting special problems. And, after all, a full discussion of the smaller questions could well be the task of a much less ambitious work, that of a critical catalogue of Donatello's oeuvre. We shall hope that Dr. Kauffmann's notebooks, which, as far as one can judge from the extremely solid documentation of the questions he deals with, contain all the material imaginable, will still yield some interesting paralipomena.

* *

Great changes in history are apt to become transformed in the mind of posterity into mythical events. And the leading characters in such times have a tendency to grow slowly into superhuman shapes, into figures who step out of the dark without preparation and who run through their brilliant careers overpowering everything and everybody around them

and so determining the character of a whole age and of a long future. Allowing imagination to work in such a direction does not always mean to render a real service to the pet heroes of our history books. The great beginners of the Renaissance, especially Donatello, have gradually lost in this way much of their real greatness; they have grown into the empty space of an historical empiraeum, where nothing human can exist; and now we must try to remember again that they too had to submit to the destinies of all human beings, that they had to grow mentally, as they grew physically, that they had their hopes and their delusions, that they changed opinions and styles, that they were living in hard competition with their surrounding, which certainly helped a good deal to make the greatest of them still greater. And we must try to remember that even the greatest among them were only parts of a larger unit, so that, when they died, their bequests to the future were thrown together with those of their contemporaries, We never can say that only one artist completely formed another of a younger generation, and, much less still, that one man determined the character of a whole period.

We now begin to understand through the studies of scholars like P. Fontana, D. Frey, and H. L. Heydenreich how Brunelleschi grew slowly on the fertile soil of the preceding centuries into the figure we admire; and we see how he never remained the same, but changed from style to style, from idea to idea; and we realize that around him there lived masters like Michelozzo and Alberti, independent personalities, striving in a similar direction, but each of them with different ideas and with his own school. Reading Dr. Kauffmann's book we shall see that there is little left of the superhuman Donatello, of the Renaissance hero of Nietzschean colour, whom we used to know. There is little left of the ruthless realist, the typical *l'art pour l'art* character, who opposed a new "ism" to a likewise one-sidedly conceived "idealistic" Middle Age, and in whose steps all the rest of the Renaissance sculptors were to follow. And there is not any more at his side a Ghiberti, e. g., who was condemned to failure from the outset, handicapped by a different and a less "realistic" taste. Everything is reduced to more convincing proportions; and yet, when we lay the book aside, our respect for Donatello is not in the least diminished.

Dr. Kauffmann has built up his study on a very broad basis. That does not mean, however, that he indulges even for a single moment in the pleasure of creating "backgrounds" with the help of the so-called history of culture or *Geistesgeschichte*, which serves so often to make an otherwise light book appear ponderous, until the reader discovers that there is a heavy dead weight of ballast, which has nothing to do with the real subject. The many historical and cultural facts Dr. Kauffmann has col-

1. Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, XLVII (1926),



Fig. 1—Florence, Orsanmichele: Niche by Donatello with Verrocchio's Group



Fig. 2—Rome, St. Peter's: Tabernacle, by Donatello



Fig. 3—Florence, S. Croce: Cavalcanti Altarpiece, by Donatello



Fig. 4—Padua, Santo: Detail of High Altar, by Donatello



Fig. 5—Ravenna, Musem: St. George, by a Venetian Sculptor



lected are all closely connected with the artist and his work and essential for the understanding of both. It is from them that the author very often gets the most enlightening explanations. The whole history of Donatello's life, his migrations to northern Italy etc., are so easy to understand when one knows with which Florentine circles the artist was connected. And his most important connection, that with the Florentine optimates like the Albizzi and Niccolò da Uzzano, seems to have been even an old family connection, going back at least to his father. Quite decisive for his whole life was to be the interest Cosimo dei Medici took in him and his close relation with the Franciscan order. We may see that in many instances a historical detail can decide regarding an attribution, the dating, the interpretation of a sculpture. Dr. Kauffmann has succeeded admirably in using every detail as evidence to prove his main points; and that makes his book so exceedingly consistent. There are few books of this kind written nowadays, so I hope I shall be forgiven if I deal with it at some length. I am conscious that even so I shall be able to draw attention to only very few points and that I cannot do full justice to the book.

* *

Dr. Kauffmann is perfectly right when he entitles the first chapter of the book "The Statue," and when he points out that Donatello's origins lie in the Opera of the Florentine cathedral, in this purely mediaeval institution, which was busy producing in peaceful collaboration of many different artists the innumerable statues which were needed for a Gothic building of such a standing. We can follow Donatello while working for the cathedral and its campanile and for the church of Orsanmichele, the decoration of which was furnished by the same body of artists. We see him first as a young man among much his elders, one of the best of them being Pietro di Niccolò Lamberti; 2 then we see him sliding slowly into the leading part, so that he finally dominates the field, surrounded by a few subordinate helpers, which to disentangle from the master himself and from one another is a hopeless and almost a useless undertaking.3 It is certain that this close connection with the traditional Gothic workshop had a great importance for Donatello, and that his numerous statues on the abovementioned buildings, new as they may be in a thousand regards, yet belong still to the long row of Gothic cathedral figures. And it is quite true that in Florence the tradition of this cathedral sculpture stops in the moment when Donatello leaves the Opera del Duomo, interrupted in his work there by adverse circumstances of political and economic nature, which were to bring the whole work of decorating the cathedral to a premature end. Later attempts to complete the façade of the cathedral failed: the big competition of 1471 ended with no result. Only in 1504, when Michelangelo had carved his David out of a marble

block belonging to the Opera del Duomo and already blocked out previously into the shape of a prophet, old obligations were remembered and it was proposed to erect this statue in front of the cathedral. How seriously this suggestion was meant, we see from the commission given later in the same year to Michelangelo, to provide a series of twelve apostles for the piers of the choir of the church. This is decidedly a taking up of the old Gothic idea of the cycles of statues.

That Donatello throughout his whole life was remembering Gothic traditions, Dr. Kauffmann demonstrates in many instances; as a matter of fact, a great number of the plates of the book contain carefully chosen proofs of this. One of the most interesting cases is that of the Assunta relief on the Brancacci monument in Naples, which has certainly more than a casual similarity with the Ascension relief of Fra Guglielmo's pulpit in Pistoia. The derivation of the Coscia monument from a Gothic prototype has always been noticed; less known, but with much reason emphasized by Dr. Kauffmann, are the Gothic elements in the tabernacle of St. Peter's in Rome (Fig. 1). This latter gives us a valuable measure to judge what Rome had meant for Donatello. When, after his return to Florence, he designed a similar architectural composition as a frame for his Cavalcanti altar in S. Croce (Fig. 2), he had freed himself from every old-fashioned tendency. Dr. Kauffmann has a very interesting paragraph on this question, where he compares the completely different parts the putti on tops of both tabernacles play: in Rome they are Gothic pinnacle figures, in S. Croce acroterion figures in quite a classical sense. We need not be too much surprised to learn about so many ties between Donatello and the preceding century. There is nothing more natural than that Donatello should have made ample use of the inheritance left to him by his predecessors. Strange only that many of these facts have been overlooked for such a long time.

As to the other elements which constitute the basis of Donatello's style, it is almost superfluous to talk about his new study of nature and of the art of antiquity, so much has been said about it. In Dr. Kauffmann's book both elements play, therefore, a smaller part. They are duly mentioned in every case, but they remain somewhat in second line, and in a few cases this very understandable reluctance to repeat well-known facts damages a little the proportion of the whole picture. The author has taken much trouble in hunting up evidence for Donatello's interest in Romanesque and Byzantine art. That Donatello's eyes were open for them seems undeniable and must be explained in the same way as in the case of Brunelleschi. The Quattrocento liked to see in the more classical trends of Italian Romanesque art and in Byzantine art the last postludes of classic antiquity, from which one was only separated by the Gothic period and to which it was easy and natural to go back. So we see in Donatello's bronze doors in the Old Sacristy of S. Lorenzo quite obvious indications of the artist's interest in the bronze door by Bonannus in Pisa.4 And, certainly, if a Romanesque Madonna like that ascribed to Coppo di Marcovaldo in

I do not know why Dr. Kauffmann still calls him Niccolò d'Arezzo. We know that this name is misleading, as it applies to two artists and can create much confusion. Cf. Procacci, Il Vasari, I. 1027, p. 300.

two artists and can train the large of the l

^{4.} Here we might have liked to find a reference to C. de Mandach's strange theory that the motif of the pairs of apostles

S. Maria Maggiore in Florence had not appealed aesthetically to the artist, he would not have imitated it in his Madonna in Padua. It is strange that a hundred years later Vincenzo Danti, in his Madonna in S. Croce in Florence, should have been the next one to take up a similar motif. Obvious interest in Byzantine art we can observe in the evangelist medallions in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo, and in the costume of St. George on Orsanmichele, in the latter case perhaps transmitted by certain Venetian-Gothic-Byzantine types of warriors.5 And I think one might still add some few more observations to those of the author. Has not the St. Magdalen in the Baptistery in the solemn simplicity of her outline some relations with the famous picture by the Magdalen Master of the thirteenth century? Is it pure chance that the head of St. Mark on Orsanmichele with its curley hair and its grimly accentuated eyebrows resembles Romanesque heads as we find them in the school of Antelami, for example in Borgo S. Donnino? I think it has already been observed that the group of Abraham and Isaac is derived iconographically from Early Christian sarcophagi. And do not the indefinite moldings of the door tabernacles in the sacristy in S. Lorenzo point to the degenerate classic architecture of the same period as source, or to its revival in Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries?

What Donatello owes to the young northern realism of the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries-Courajod has meant to see a connection between the Zuccone and Claus Sluter-Dr. Kauffmann tries to define in a very carefully worded note (p. 204, note 8o). I must confess I do not yet see any possibility of giving an answer to this question, either in such a negative sense as Dr. Kauffmann does, or more positively. The problem is not to be solved until we know exactly how much the style of Ghiberti also for example, depends on northern influences. (We should not forget that also in this case the name of Claus Sluter has been mentioned.) 6 And from what I have to say later it will be seen that we cannot very well make a great difference between Donatello and Ghiberti in regard to their fundamental tenden-

There was a moment in Donatello's life when it seems that he actually came into contact with northern art. It happened when, already a mature man, he went to Padua. The strong intensity of expression in his later Passion reliefs and the appearance of motives like that of the Pietà in his later years seem

to indicate, according to the author, a certain influence of German sculptures, which actually have been imported not too infrequently into the Venetian do-

But more essential at that time seems to have been the influence of the local North Italian art on the sculptor. Dr. Kauffmann suggests that Donatello might have been encouraged by Altichiero's and Avanzo's frescoes in the Santo to crowd his altar reliefs with figures and to fill the backgrounds with rich and complicated architecture. Certainly, all the single motifs can be found already in the earlier reliefs of the master, but the general effect of richness and of unity is quite new. And neither did Donatello forget in his later years what he had seen in the north. That is the only explanation for the quite un-Florentine landscape and architecture backgrounds with their complicated, almost Mantegnesque differences of level in the big pulpit in S. Lorenzo and in the late Crucifixion reliefs. It is difficult to tell with certainty how far Paduan-Venetian art actually influenced Donatello. There are critics, like Dr. Fiocco, who try to prove that almost all Venetian Renaissance art depends on Tuscany, and that all the Florentine artists who went into the north, the Lamberti and Rosso, Uccello, Filippo Lippi, Castagno, etc., went there to bring Tuscan light into the Venetian darkness. That sounds rather improbable for many reasons. But with the scarceness of contemporary material in the northern provinces it is almost impossible to prove that these relations were, what is most likely, exchanges with giving and taking on both sides. Into such a picture Donatello would probably fit very

Most interesting is Dr. Kauffmann's demonstration of the correspondence which exists between the perspective construction of Donatello's marble relief in Lille and L. B. Alberti's theories. The comparison is most successful; and much to be praised is the caution with which the author draws his conclusions from this observation. He does not stress his point in talking of an obvious influence of Alberti on Donatello, but he suggests as an explanation that ideas of this kind were common property of the whole group of artists then gathered around Brunelleschi.

The name of Brunelleschi ought to be mentioned in another connection still, in connection with the niche of the Parte della Guelfa on Orsanmichele (Fig. 3). This niche represents so little what we know to be the architectural decorative style of Donatello that we can explain it only with the greatest difficulty without assuming an influence from outside. Besides, it is more than doubtful whether the similar niche construction in Masaccio's Trinity fresco in S. Maria Novella is really later than Donatello's niche and dependent on it. It might very well be an independent parallel. Also in this case an explanation similar to that above would not be too farfetched, especially as we see the motive some years later taken up in the Impruneta relief by Luca della Robbia, that is by an artist who certainly never in his life came into closer contact with Donatello, but whose connections with Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Michelozzo are obvious enough. And mentioning the name of Michelozzo

and prophets might be derived from the sculptures of the ca thedral in Lyon. Cf. Revue de l'art ancienne et moderne, XXII (1907), p. 433; and Zappa in L'Arte, 1908, p. 34.

5. I used to think a lovely little marble statuette in the Museum in Ravenna might be such a prototype. There remains, however,

a doubt whether it is not, on the contrary, a kind of derivation from the St. George, in the same way as some of the figures of the Mocenigo monument by Piero di Niccolò Lamberti and Giovanni di Martino in S. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice and other such sculptures are derivations from Donatello's figures. In any case,

sculptures are derivations from Donatello's figures. In any case, the statuette is so interesting and so little known that it is not useless to reproduce it here (Fig. 5).

The German wooden statue of a saint which Dr. Kauffmann reproduces on pl. 2 for a comparison with the statue of St. George, is certainly not a St. George. His crown forbids such an interpretation and suggests, rather, names like that of St. Sigismund. Of course this change of the name does not affect the formal course rise. course this change of the name does not affect the formal comparison for which the statue has been reproduced.

Again Coursjod, and recently Valentiner, in L'Arte, XXXVIII

(1935), p. 25 note.,

here means to unearth again the old question: to what extent is Michelozzo responsible for the architectural parts of Donatello's earlier works? After all, there are works in which these two so completely different artists collaborated, the Coscia and Brancacci monuments, the niche of Orsanmichele, the pulpit in Prato. It is surprising—and I wish Dr. Kauffmann had emphasized this point more stronglyto realize how different the framework of the pulpit of Prato is from that of the cantoria in Florence, the more surprising as both works are so closely related in their reliefs. We know that the Prato pulpit was designed before the artist went to Rome, the cantoria, however, only after he returned from there. That means that only in Rome he acquired his personal taste in architectural design. The cantoria shows his style to perfection, while the coupled pilasters in Prato, the classic moldings of the architrave and the consoles have the greatest affinity with the corresponding parts of Luca della Robbia's Cantoria (we must not forget Luca's connection with Michelozzo and the whole un- or anti-Donatellesque group) or with those of the facade of Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel. That would mean that as sculptor of the cathedral statues Donatello was in his architectural ideas completely dependent on his surroundings, especially on his architect friends Brunelleschi and Michelozzo. Only after his connection with the Opera del Duomo is disrupted, when he goes to Rome, and finally renounces even his collaboration with Michelozzo, he creates architectural compositions of a personal taste, besides the cantoria the Cavalcanti altar and, most significant, the door frames in Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy in S. Lorenzo, which seem to have seriously broken the friendly understanding between the two former mates, when Brunelleschi had to see his architecture spoilt by a rebelling and independent

Here I find myself in disagreement with the author. I think the tale of the Pseudo Manetti regarding Donatello's and Brunelleschi's quarrel over the doors of the sacristy has to be taken much more seriously. The biographer has caught in it perhaps quite unwillingly one of the turning points of Donatello's career. And I must confess, if I trust my eyes only and try to disregard every historical argument, I cannot help understanding why Brunelleschi had to disagree with Donatello on this point. Donatello's heavy doors with their indefinite moldings, which look as if they were modeled in clay, bring rather a strident note of dissonance into the room; they contradict too violently the delicate clean-cut relievo of its pilasters, entablatures, etc.

Has not Dr. Kauffmann fallen a victim of his own arts, when he sees here a well-thought-out device for creating harmony by contrast, where we, and not only we, but even the contemporaries, saw the contrary? It is one of his main points to prove that Donatello in general adapted himself very well to the different tasks, that he even tried to give the most perfect, most profound solution in every case. But must such a rule be without any exception? And

besides does he not in all similar cases rather refer to the literary meaning of Donatello's art? And is this not a pure question of form, which outside of artists' circles probably raised little comment, but in which both artists insisted stubbornly on the right of their most subtle conceptions of beauty?

* *

If I cannot see a profound idea in the formal discrepancy between these door frames and their surroundings, I cannot follow the author either in the iconographical interpretation of the bronze doors themselves. I cannot believe that doors like these, decorated as many similar ones from the Middle Ages with the figures of prophets, apostles, and saints, could have the sepulchral meaning the author seeks in them, especially as these doors lead into much used little rooms.

In most other cases one follows Dr. Kauffmann with pleasure in the interpretation of Donatello's works. He gives us often the most surprising explanations of hitherto unexplained or misunderstood works, and he shows how closely their most intimate meanings connect them with the places for which they were intended, with the person by whom they were ordered, with the history of the town, with the political and religious and philosophical thinking of the whole period. In all these researches the author's mastery of the contemporary literature and culture comes in as a most furthering momentum.

Even if we have to disagree in a detail like that regarding the bronze doors, the author's interpretation of the sculptures of the Old Sacristy remains a masterpiece. And not less enlightening is the interpretation of the putti of the cantoria in the cathedral and the pulpit in Prato. The well-known fact that the putti of Luca della Robbia's cantoria illustrate word for word the 150th psalm, i. e. that they have a meaning which is very appropriate to the object they adorn, should have warned us long since to believe what has been so often written about Donatello's putti, namely that they are in discordance with the sacredness of the church, and should have suggested to us that their gayness is a very befitting discantus to the grave melody of the glorification of the Virgin, which fills both these churches.8 It was certainly also a mistake to consider all the wellknown statues of David, St. John, Judith, etc. always only as pure manifestations of Donatello's artistic intentions, and it is very useful that Dr. Kauffmann devotes many pages to their iconographical and symbolical meaning, showing us how deeply these masterpieces are rooted in the spiritual life of the fifteenth century. These interpretations are often very convincing, as in the case of the series of late statues created in a "Franciscan" spirit (St. John in Venice, St. John in Siena, St. Jerome in Faenza, the Magdalen). Often, however, they are very difficult to understand and to appreciate nowadays. And there sometimes

^{7.} It is true that also Brunelleschi's later development was statending towards a stronger plasticity, but he never came to such an arbitrary conception of proportions and of the meaning of the architectural detail as Donatello. Cf. Heydenreich in *Preussisches* alls Jahrbuch, LII (1931), pp. 1 ff.

^{8.} We must, however, be careful not to take too literally the comparison made by the author between certain Gothic paintings representing the Coronation of the Virgin accompanied by a chorus of dancing and music-making angels and the iconographical cycle in the cathedral in Florence. There would be, under any circumstances, ample justification for the presence of these putti on the cantoria. They were after all the singer's and organist's balconies, and the aliusion of the decoration to the purpose is obvious. Musical allegories etc. are also in other cases to be found on such cantorie, for example on Benedettu da Rovezzano's in S. Stefano in Genoa.

remain some obscure points, as in the interpretation of the decoration of the courtyard in the Palazzo Medici (the statues of David and Judith, and the mythological marble tondos). Sometimes one cannot even quite suppress a suspicion that the author stretches his points too much. It seems, e. g., farfetched to explain the differences between Brunelleschi's and Donatello's Crucifixes by the different characters of the Dominican and the Franciscan orders for the churches of whom they were made.

We are not astonished to see the names of Aby Warburg and his collaborators appear frequently in the notes to these difficult and most valuable researches. The author leads us deeply into the problems of a Kulturgeschichte of the Renaissance in

Warburg's spirit.

Dr. Kauffmann directs his attention not only to the relations of the single work with its background, but he attempts also to find out whether Donatello had in different periods preferences for special subjects, in short, whether one could write a history of Donatello's spiritual development chiefly considering the literary meaning of his works. So he tries to show how in Donatello's career the great intensification of artistic power is parallel with a growing preference of the artist for the most sublime subjects the age could offer. Therefore, he groups, especially in the last chapters, the oeuvre of the master according to the subjects, reaching in his discussions an effective finale in the grandiose representations of the Passion of Christ in the pulpits in S. Lorenzo and in the closely related Crucifixion reliefs from Donatello's last years. We must be careful, however, not to be too dogmatic about this kind of statements. Dr. Kauffmann himself is conscious of the fact that he touches here only upon one side of Donatello's latest style, and that there were, even if they were less important, still other aspects to consider too. He explains how this partial change in Donatello's interest reflects a general change in mood in Florence, in the minds of Cosimo Vecchio and his entourage, a change which prepared the soil for the great spiritual revolution which many years later Savonarola succeeded in arousing for some time in the city. If we know this whole background, we shall be careful not to interpret these Passion scenes and their apparent prevalence in Donatello's later years too much as the outcome of an Alterstil of the master. A Quattrocento artist was less free in the choice of his subjects than a Rembrandt; and if we want an explanation for such a change as we may observe here in the art of the old Donatello, we must consider very carefully how big or small a share in it the individual had and how big or small a share was due to his surroundings.

9. I do not think it is right when Dr, Kauffmann interprets the decorative figures in the frames of the base of the Judith as prophets. I am completely at a loss before his interpretation, or attempt at an interpretation, of the front relief of this basis. Is it a joke when he hints at the possibility that the smiling, fat, and half-nude figure of what is obviously a Bacchus with a wine jug and a cornucopia in his hands, surrounded by a wild driuking and drunken crowd, might symbolize Caritas? Caritas, yes, but only if one considers forgetfulness in wine as the greatest benefit granted by God to men! The basis simply explains the producing of wine under the supervision and gay participation of the god. It is a grimly humorous allusion to the drunkenness of Holofernes, whom vice lead to perdition; in this way it might enter quite well the cycle of the battle of virtue against vice. At the same time the basis undoubtedly alludes to the much less precious liquid it was pouring into the basin of the fountain.

In one point the author seems to forget all the precautions which he usually takes in dealing with such questions. That is when he tries to prove that almost the whole of Donatello's life was dedicated to the creation of more or less extensive sculptural cycles. "Er hörte doch nicht auf in Zyklen zu denken" (after his work for the Gothic statue cycle for the cathedral had been interrupted). The author himself names a number of exceptions to his statement, among them big things like the Dovizia and the Gattamelata; and if we consider that Donatello throughout his lifetime probably continually produced Madonna reliefs and other smaller sculptures (the Crucifixion reliefs, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the Musée Jacquemart André etc.), it will seem very doubtful whether Dr. Kauffmann's statement can claim to be considered as a rule which allows for a few exceptions. However, there are in fact quite a number of examples for such iconographical cycles in Donatello's oeuvre. But must one not ask also in these cases how much credit for them the artist can claim? For example, has not the cycle of the sculptural decoration of the Palazzo Medici grown together quite slowly and almost unintentionally? After all, the David, the Judith, the medallions can be distributed over a period of about ten years, and as to their artistic conception, they are certainly not meant to be parts of a greater unit. They are very different from each other and each is so self-sufficient that their dispersion did not take away anything from their artistic perfection. I do not mean to deny a literary connection between these works, the existence of which Dr. Kauffmann has succeeded in proving. I only wish to ask whether we are allowed to project our pleasure of discovering a long hidden and antiquated meaning of an ancient piece of art too much into its own period. Must we imagine the men of past centuries to have elaborated their programs as painstakingly as we reconstruct them? Things which to us might seem very hard to understand have perhaps been quite common currency in their time. 10 In the decoration of the Palazzo Medici was there not also a considerable amount of chance, which had thrown into the hands of Cosimo a very haphazard collection of classic gems, 11 which were reproduced in the medallions, perhaps partly only because they were classic and they would make the courtyard look all'antica? In this kind of research we must beware of too much acuteness. And where we can really speak of conscientiously planned cycles with profound symbolical meanings, do they really spring from the definite preference of the artist for that kind of thing? Was not Donatello the more or less acknowledged sculptor of the Medici, and was it not for this reason that he automatically received all the big commissions distributed in these days? And was it he himself who proposed the ideas for a vast program? Or did not the invention of these allegories come from the brains and the pens of the innumerable humanists, poets, princes of the church, whose names fill the pages of Dr. Kauffmann's book? 12

Certainly, Donatello knew how to meet a profound

^{10.} For these reasons I cannot accept Dr. Kauffmann's iconographical arguments for changing the date of the bronze David as binding, as much as some of his other arguments may convince me.
11. Cf. recently G. Pesce, in Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeo-

Cf. recently G. Pesce, in Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, V (1935), pp. 50 ff.
 One ought only to remember the part Leonardo Bruni played

One ought only to remember the part Leonardo Bruni played in the preparation of the Porta del Paradiso.



Fig. 7—Florence, Baptistry: Detail of Bronze Door, by Andrea Pisano



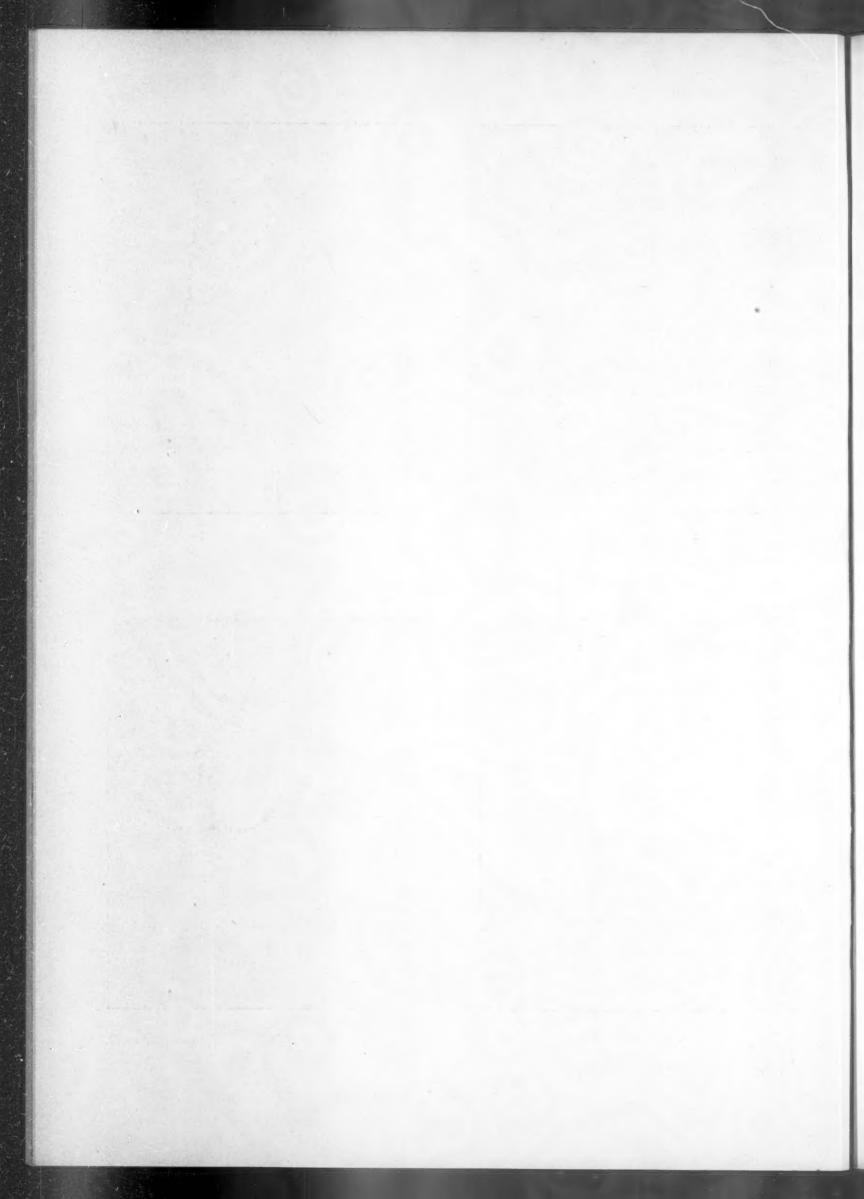
Fig. 8—Florence, Orsanmichele: Detail of Tabernacle by Orcagna



Fig. 9—Florence, Bargello: Competition Relief, by Ghiberti



Fig. 10—Florence, Bargello: Competition Relief, by Brunelleschi



idea with a worthy execution; there lies his merit, undoubtedly. And for us it is very helpful to know the whole intricate web of ideas on which Donatello's works are brocaded; but we should be careful not to burden the artist with too many merits. We might thus obscure his main merit, viz. to have given to artistically inarticulate ideas the expression, the form.

Furthermore, would Donatello be so isolated in this supposed preference of his for iconographical cycles? Would he really be "der Verwalter des Geistes des Trecento, des Jahrhunderts der hochgespannten florentinischen Gedankensysteme und Bildprogramme?" If the Trecento liked these extensive allegorical and symbolical programs, one cannot say that their use was discontinued in the following centuries. Even the nineteenth century, in most respects so different from the others, has carried on this tradition. Therefore, when we say that Donatello continues here a Gothic tradition, we ought to add that he was not the only one to do it, as it might seem from Dr. Kauffmann's statement. From such slight exaggerations of the author we may gather how enormously difficult it is to reduce one of these inflated personalities to more reasonable proportions.

* *

Scarcely less interesting than what the author has to say about the artist, is what he has to say about his art. Its development is well described and well interpreted. Many a work is put into a better place than it had been in before; many a work, especially among the later ones, is really appreciated here for the first time. Among the more important readjustments of the chronology only a few may be mentioned. Dr. Kauffmann is right when he dates the marble relief in London, St. Peter Receiving the Keys, in the same period as the Assumption in Naples. Only I cannot make myself believe that it could really have been intended as the basis of the statue of St. Peter on Orsanmichele. Relief and statue have nothing in common stylistically. The statue looks very little like a work of Donatello (by the way, neither like a work of Nanni di Banco, as some authors suggest. I do not know why we must inflict this mediocre work on any of the great artists, and it is time to protest solemnly against the ascriptions of the most various and often completely insignificant works to the great artist Nanni di Banco 13). From the caution with which Dr. Kauffmann makes the suggestion, we might gather that he was not so sure about it himself. Very acceptable are his decisions in regard to the following dates: Zuccone, 1423-1426; the decoration of the sacristy of S. Lorenzo, c. 1435-1440; the statues of St. John and David from Casa Martelli, c. 1440; the bust of S. Leonardo in S. Lorenzo, c. 1457 (as W. Paatz has already suggested). I must even confess that very reluctantly I find myself almost convinced of the late date of the bronze David in the Bargello (post Paduan), proposed by the author in a previous article and here defended again.

With great satisfaction one will read the rehabilitation of such important works as the marble relief of the Flagellation in Berlin and the Shaw Madonna in Boston, both occasionally doubted as to their genuineness; of the London Deposition, which was in danger of being ascribed to pupils and which Dr. Kauffmann connects very closely with the putti of the pulpit in Prato. The question of pupils' help is, of course, open to discussion in many cases, above all in those of the more voluminous works. The author is right in avoiding definite statements in this regard. Donatello's helpers lacked in personality and consequently it would lead only to disappointments if one tried to reconstruct their shares and their oeuvres. Almost the only one whom we really know, Urbano da Cortona, is a good warning; as soon as he leaves the shop of Donatello, he shows that taken by himself he is most uninteresting and lacks every quality.14 And certainly such a perfect work as the Deposition in London cannot be by a pupil, even if one considered the only real good pupil Donatello ever had, Desiderio da Settignano; who, by the way, had not yet grown up when the work was done.

Among the later works, which have always remained more or less in the background because of a certain diffidence of the critics towards them, Dr. Kauffmann emphasizes, showing their really high qualities, the big bronze Crucifixion in the Bargello, the stucco Crucifixion in Berlin, the Forzori altar in London, the small bronze relief of the Crucifixion of the Camondo collection in the Louvre (the latter unfortunately completely ruined by inexperienced cleaning), the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the Musée Jacquemart André, the small plaquettelike Flagellation, which is known in several replicas. I agree with the author in the high estimation in which he holds the wooden statue of St. Jerome in the Museum in Faenza. Very convincing seems to me also the suggestion that the bronze Pietà in London might be a remnant of Donatello's projects for the bronze door in Siena. The measurements of the relief seem to agree not too badly with those mentioned in the documents, and, as I convinced myself lately through the kindness of Miss M. H. Longhurst, the background of this relief has been chiselled away after the casting of the relief. It is difficult to say when that happened, easier to guess why, if we assume that this relief came out of its mold as incomplete and as disfigured by defects as the Baptist in Siena.

The problem of the bust of S. Rossore in Pisa is to me still as unsolved as before. I do not wish, however, to encumber this review with an argument which might give the appearance of my speaking prodomo.

Very interesting is the new evidence the author furnishes for a reconstruction of the lost statue of Dovizia which stood on the Mercato Vecchio in Florence. Especially important is the painting from the end of the sixteenth century which shows the Mercato very clearly and which proves that Berteaux was right when he claimed certain statues from the Robbia shop as copies after Donatello's original.

^{13.} I want to make an exception for the small marble relief published and ascribed to Nanni di Banco by Giulia Brunetti, in Rivista d'Arte, XII (1930), p. 229. Cf. note 22.

^{14.} Antonio Chellini and Giovanni da Pisa, whom Fabriczy tried to revive, have both had a very short and inglorious resurrection. The first never entered the general conscience, the second has ended in Niccolò Pizzolo. The question of Bertoldo's and Bellano's participation in the pulpits in S. Lorenzo seems also rather sterile. Dr. Kauffmann does not dedicate more than a short sentence to it.

** "

A few words might be given to the problem of the bust of the so-called Niccolò da Uzzano (why Uzano, as Dr. Kauffmann writes, when the little town near Pescia is spelt Uzzano?). Also here we find new evidence. The old tradition that the bust in the Bargello actually represents this famous politician, can now really be accepted as quite trustworthy. But we might note that one piece of the new evidence furnished by the author is slightly invalidated by Vasari, who reproduces the head in the fresco by Bicci di Lorenzo, which Dr. Kauffmann suggests might be that of Niccolò da Uzzano, as that of the painter, whom he erroneously calls Lorenzo di Bicci. Vasari must be wrong here, as his whole account of the Bicci family obviously is not very reliable. It is strange, though, that it should have been forgotten already in the sixteenth century whom this startling portrait in the fresco represented. But the medal by Niccolò Forzore has more weight in this case than Vasari's statement.

But whomsoever the bust may represent, it must interest us as a-here my pen refuses to write-work of art. Is this bust really a work of art? Or is it nothing more than the mask of a beautiful and most characteristic Florentine head? I am very much inclined to accept the latter opinion, in contrast to Dr. Kauffmann. The whole make-up, this "real" drapery, the badly modeled skull, the unpleasant realistic polychromy (not the original one, but certainly based on original remains), all this agrees so well with the complete lack of style in the modeling of the face that I cannot help seeing here one of the first known of those lifelike busts done from life or death masks, which shortly afterwards were filling the houses of the Florentine patricians. Even the head of Cardinal Brancacci on his tomb in Naples, reproduced by the author as a comparison, which is also carved with a regrettable tendency towards the art of Madame Tussaud, has still more style. It is of no use to conceal the fact that the Renaissance had very often this unfortunate craving for a quite inartistic realism when portraits were concerned. Not always, however, do we have to deal with such evident masks as are the death masks of Petrarch in Arquà and of Brunelleschi in the Museum of S. Maria del Fiore. Most of them have undergone more or less decisive changes. A certain adaptation has taken place probably also in the case of the Niccolò da Uzzano, and many masks have even been translated into marble. We know it in the case of Rossellino's Cardinal of Portugal, 15 and the head of the Brancacci cannot be explained in a different way either. The essentially inartistic character of a mask, however, is difficult to eliminate even in these adaptations and translations. In the whole Quattrocento we find busts which for this reason cannot at all or only with great difficulty be attributed to definite masters, or which differ completely from the other works of the authors by whom they are supposed to be. In the case of an unauthenticated portrait bust of this kind we must, therefore, be very cautious in proposing or defending an attribution. It may very well be that the Niccolò da Uzzano is by Donatello; the contrary may be true; in any case, I do not believe that we learn much about Donatello's style from it.

We must be careful also in following Dr. Kauffmann in his conclusions regarding the historical importance of the Niccolò da Uzzano bust. We must be especially careful in regard to his statement that the Uzzano bust has a claim to be considered as the earliest independent portrait of the Italian Renaissance. Such statements are usually dangerous, as they do not take sufficiently into account that our knowledge of the art of the past is badly limited by the haphazard choice which time has made. And from what we know about the origins and progress of portrait art, I should think the Uzzano bust has no right to such a claim, but is only one step in a long development. should even dare to say that it was not a very important one. The artists from the court of Frederic II had imitated, not unsuccessfully, Roman and Etruscan portrait busts (there is an Etruscan bust in the Field Museum which shows very well the type which may have inspired the artists of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries); and very often they had apparently succeeded in creating good likenesses (e. g. the bust of Petrus de Vineis). And through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we find here and there proofs that this art was continued, though scarcely in profusion (examples are the famous male head from the Tiber in Berlin and a bust in S. Simone in Florence). And what do we know about portraits from the period of the awakening naturalism of the late fourteenth century, especially in northern Italy? France produced then very fine painted portraits of her kings and princes; and the portrait statues of the Hôpital des Quinze-Vingts in Paris, of the buttresses of the cathedral of Amiens, of the mantelpiece in Poitiers, not to speak of those of Claus Sluter, are among the most superb examples of portrait sculpture. We see a series of the loveliest portrait busts we can imagine from the Parler shop in S. Veit in Prague. Certainly, part of these above-mentioned sculptured examples are still connected with architecture, but in the portrait panels in France the step towards the isolation of the portrait is already taken, and it would be rather narrow-minded to deny to this period, which was actually the true creative period in all such respects, the decisive innovation. And if we know that northern Italy in particular has always been in close contact with these northern centers, is it too daring to assume that the classical Carrara medals in Padua were either preceded or accompanied by realistic portraits? The Uzzano bust might thus be already an example of quite a sophisticated portrait art, when artists began a romantic classical masquerade, in order to emphasize the public character of the sitter. I can discover nothing of a "noch halb mittelalterlichen Umfang an Persönlichkeitsschilderung" in this obtrusive and badly masqueraded piece of realism.

Besides, it is not right when Dr. Kauffmann says that there was at this time in Italy "kein selbständiges Bildnisfach." We cannot pass in silence over the figure of Pisanello, an exact contemporary of Dona-

^{15.} Cf. J. Burckhardt, in Gesamtausgabe, XIII (1934), pp. 259, 303. One must not forget either that already Cennini in his Trattato describes the technique of taking masks from living persons. The whole question is just now being thoroughly studied by a German sculptor, Joseph Pohl, to whom I owe valuable information as to the differences between death and life masks etc. We may look forward to the publication of his studies.

tello, and a master of the portrait in his paintings and his medals. And the numerous portraits by the slightly younger generation of Uccello, Castagno, Domenico Veneziano, Filarete prove that there had been quite a solid tradition in this field. And as to the lack of portraits of important men in Italy, which Dr. Kauffmann laments, where are there in the whole contemporary art portraits like those of the Gaddi family in the Uffizi, or that of Donatello and his companions in the Louvre? And I am sure a careful examination of the portrait galleries of Paolo Giovio etc. will make us acquainted with quite a number of lost portraits from the period, which are preserved there at least in copies.16 It is true that the Italians admitted to a certain degree the superiority of Northern painters in this field. But who are they who had their likenesses painted by Jan van Eyck, Memling, etc.? Mostly members of the Italian colonies in Flanders. One who staid at home could always find a painter there to do his portrait. Without the jubilee of 1450 Roger van der Weyden probably would never have come to Italy to paint the portrait of the Este princes and to work for the Medici; without a branch of the Portinari residing in Flanders Florence would be without the Portinari altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes. These relations between the North and the South are most important, it is true, but we must see them in the right proportions to the whole picture.

...

Dr. Kauffmann's reconstruction of the high altar in the Santo in Padua is certainly fundamentally right and it has some decided improvements compared with that proposed by Baron Hadeln, even if one may disagree in some details. A small correction in the reading of the documents (canaletti instead of cavaletti) and a closer inspection of the very small graphical evidence has lead to the new results. Three points chiefly remain obscure in Dr. Kauffmann's reconstruction. First "la chua grande dell'altare" which is mentioned in the documents. It is difficult to imagine this "big vault" as a separate baldachin protecting the whole altar. If one would try to build around the altar as Dr. Kauffmann reconstructs it such a baldachin with a vault, it would have to be of enormous size, i. e. it would have to be even bigger than the altar according to Baron Hadeln's reconstruction. The main criticism brought, however, against the latter is just its size. How much more would Dr. Kauffmann's tabernacle barricade the whole choir! Very unsatisfactory, further, is the fact that the well modeled backs of the figures would not be visible. It is especially hard to believe that Donatello would have taken the trouble to decorate the back of the throne of the Madonna with the relief of Adam and Eve if it was not to be visible. We should rather expect in such a case figures not at all worked out, even open on the back. The operas of S. Antonio would have seen to it that the precious bronze material was not wasted in such a way. And, finally, is it really possible that the predella decoration with the reliefs would have been identical on the front

16. Vasari made ample use of really reliable portraits from this period in his frescoes in the Palazzo Vecchio and in the woodcuts of the second edition of his Vite. Cf. his Ragionamenti, Vasari, Milanesi ed., VIII, 1882, p. 87.

and the back of the altar, while the pala itself presented towards the front a most elaborate group of figures and towards the back a big empty wall? Where we find altars with double faces e. g. Vasari's big altar in the Badia in Arezzo or that by Montorsoli in the church of the Servi in Bologna, both sides are treated equally carefully. There is the possibility that the back was decorated with a fresco, though that would always be a rather unsatisfactory solution and would not yet justify the presence of reliefs in the predella. But the documents do not mention any such thing. Squarcione's painted pavimento was most probably something else. There might be a way of disposing of all three difficulties at one time. If we opened the back wall, leaving everything else as Dr. Kauffmann suggests, we could arrive at a kind of compromise between Dr. Kauffmann's and Baron Hadeln's reconstructions. We should obtain a small open tabernacle consisting of four pilasterlike piers (similar to those we see in Pîzzolo's altar or in the fresco by Paolo Schiavo), covered by a vault. Such an arrangement could still very well be called a pala, and the expression used in the document of 1579 "pala et tabernaculo dell'altare grande" could be easily explained as one of the not infrequent attempts to describe a complicated object by using two or more loosely connected nouns, each of which describes one characteristic. I admit that there are still difficulties, which I cannot explain. But I am afraid that unless we find a more satisfactory piece of optical evidence, the whole reconstruction will always remain a matter of controversy.

*

In these detailed investigations the author proceeds with a great conscientiousness, which suggests the toils of the archaeologists. Drawings, 17 stuccoes, copies, imitations are carefully examined as to their value as testimonials, to an extent which we are not used to in our field. Thus, one of the most convincing proofs for the dating of the bronze David in the later period of the master's career is the fact that imitations of this statue do not appear until that late, and it is very improbable that the statue would have existed twenty years before it entered the mind of the contemporaries. Stucco reproductions of undoubted authenticity and old drawings can prove the genuineness of a doubted marble; such is the case with the Madonna relief in Boston. An inscription on an early drawing is made to speak in favor of a contended attribution in the case of the tondi of the Palazzo Medici. Ancient engravings help to reconstruct the complicated history of the pulpits in S. Lorenzo. The great fame of the neglected St. Jerome in Faenza is proved by the fact that Bertoldo, Botticelli, Andrea del Sarto (and with him probably Jacopo Sansovino, and Alessandro Vittoria knew and imitated the motif. And very often, as in this case, Dr. Kauffmann's statements have a twofold interest, insofar as they also throw new light on later artists. So it is most significant, e. g., that Fra Bar-

^{17.} Notabene, that in the author's long researches in the print rooms of Europe the famous original drawings by Donatello that Vasari mentions having seen in the collection of Borghini have not yet come to light, nor any other drawing by the master. Are they lost, or are they still hiding themselves under quite a different appearance from that which we should expect them to have?

tolommeo has painted two wings for a Madonna relief by Donatello, significant if we remember that he took up motives of Donatello's in some of his most famous Madonna compositions. Another similar proof for the lasting popularity of Donatello's inventions in later generations is the fact that a number of Cinquecento sculptures were ascribed to him uncontradicted for many years, being obviously inspired by him. Dr. Kauffmann has succeeded in proving, e. g., that the haggard and uncouth St. John in the Bargello is a work by Francesco Sangallo. That agrees very well with my previous suggestions that the clay Passion reliefs in the Bargello ascribed to Donatello by De Nicola and Bode might be by Vincenzo de' Rossi, and the bronze Madonna from Fontainebleau in the Louvre by G. F. Rustici. It seems as if the sixteenth century in Florence, not excluding Michelangelo,18 found a special delight in going back to the master's ideas. It is Bandinelli who in his letters, perhaps as the first one, gives a most competent critical account and a very favorable judgment on Donatello.

**

The extraordinary richness of Donatello's art leads the author into long analyses and discussions of style. Much in contrast to general opinion, which likes to dismiss Donatello's style briefly either with much praise or with much blame as a plain ruthless realism, Dr. Kauffmann points out its very complex and sophisticated character, which can by no means be exhausted in such a simple concept. As in a previous book he has analyzed the art of Albrecht Dürer in quest of its rhythmical laws, i. e. the rhythm of compositions, the rhythm of groups of figures or of single figures, so he analyzes Donatello's art. And he discovers in such natural and uncomplicated-looking reliefs as those of the dancing putti of the cantoria and the pulpit very definite rules of rhythmical composition, which are most essential for the strong effect of movement and for the decorative qualities in these works. He finds a highly developed sense for proportion in Donatello. His analysis of the Gattamelata reveals this at its height. No wonder that the master was fascinated by Alberti's proportion theories and tried to make practical use of them, applying them in one of his most harmonious works, the bronze David.

A very important principle in Donatello's style is the "principle of perfect visibility," as we might translate Dr. Kauffmann's terms with which he describes the phenomenon. He points out that Donatello's sculptures, though they are by no means very simple in their motives, are usually constructed in such a way that with one glance we can grasp even the last movement of a limb or the slightest torsion of a body. That means that Donatello not only understood nature and was able to imitate it, but that he knew how to present it, to a degree that very few other sculptors ever did. And if we continue to think further about this difference between imitating and presenting a piece of nature, we ought to under-

stand easily how wrong it is to emphasize Donatello's realism too much, how wrong it is, in fact, to class any great artist as a mere realist. Very refined means, with which Donatello tried to realize his artistic intentions, are already reported by Vasari. He tells us that Donatello had designed his figure of St. Mark on Orsanmichele with certain distortions which were to counteract the distortions caused by the high place in which the figure was to go. Dr. Kauffmann has found another interesting example for such optical calculations, which were, by the way, not unknown to the Gothic sculptors and to many a contemporary of Donatello, e. g. Jacopo della Quercia. The first known works of Donatello, the two small-size prophets at the sides of the gable of the Porta della Mandorla, allow us to establish when Donatello acquired this knowledge. The earlier one is designed without regard to the very high place for which it was intended and loses, consequently, much of his quality when seen from below, while the other one is tipped forward and treated in a a broader manner, so that it is perfectly visible in all its motives and essential details.

With advancing years Donatello's style becomes more and more monumental and subtle at the same time. He loses every pleasure in declamatory figures like the Zuccone or the Jeremiah. His inclinations in such a direction had never been very strong, so he easily resists, finally, every temptation to strive for clamorous effects. It is one of the main merits of Dr. Kauffmann's book that he unseals the very unknown and very profound art of the late Donatello. The old formula of Donatello the realist has helped in explaining even the lively relief stories in Padua, but it has been insufficient to explain the style of the statues of the altar. And it has been quite inadequate when applied to the latest works, the statues of the Magdalen and Judith and St. John, not to mention the late reliefs like those of the pulpits in S. Lorenzo. So it has happened that these works have dropped almost entirely out of the picture we have had of Donatello. And, certainly, to insist only upon the realistically rendered ugliness of the statue of St. Magdalen means to block completely the way to a real understanding of such a work, means to content oneself with a superficial glimpse of the motif only. The same holds good for the Judith (cf. Fig. 6). What really matters here is the austerity and delicacy with which these motives are treated, the richness of detailed observation which gives such a strong liveliness to these works in spite of their grandiose, simplified general outlines. What matters is the power which expresses itself in the harsh lines of the other works of this period (cf. Fig. 4). The last works of Donatello manifest a rare state of grace in which the artist conceived them, to be found similarly only in the late works of a few other great masters, like Michelangelo, Titian, or Rembrandt. If we understand it in this more profound sense, we may very well speak of a Spätstil of Donatello.

. .

The principle of perfect visibility is very clear in Donatello's reliefs. He had adopted a very peculiar kind of relief, the so-called *relievo schiacciato*, a relief which is extremely flat. We do not know whether he had any predecessors in it. If we believe Vasari's

^{18.} I need not mention the early Madonna relief of the Casa Buonarroti. But it seems that even still in Rome he remembers Donatellesque motives: cf. e. g., the woman with the two children in the fresco of the Flood in the Sixtine Chapel. The severe profile of the woman and the position of the child remind one of certain Madonna reliefs by Donatello.

explanation in the introduction to his Vite, this type of relief was derived from the flat relief of the Aretine vases and from classic coins. If that is true we must, however, admit that the Renaissance transformed it in a very independent and un-classic way. And it seems that Donatello alone was more or less responsible for that, because wherever we find this kind of relief in the Quattrocento or later, it is in some way connected with him. This very low relief, which is almost closer to drawing or painting than to sculpture, was apparently most convenient for Donatello in materializing his ideas. It allowed him better than the other types of relief - the classic one and the Gothic one-to represent the whole world as a unit: men, landscape, buildings, space, sky, and even the sun and its light. And we see him with the help of the relievo schiacciato translate into sculpture all the new attainments reached in the field of painting. One can not always be quite sure about the priority. But that would not make any difference; again, it was probably a whole circle of artists who introduced these innovations, and it is only significant that the new perspective, etc. were certainly not invented in the field of sculpture.

It is hard to believe Dr. Kauffmann's historical construction when he tries to connect the flatness of Donatello's relievo schiacciato with the restraint in relief which we find in Brunelleschi's Sacrifice of Abraham and in Andrea Pisano's bionze door (Figs. 7, 10). It is true that the reliefs of the latter scarcely look Gothic anymore. Andrea's tendency to spread his figures out in large planes parallel to the relief ground is certainly very different from the tendency to roundness of figures in a typical Gothic relief of the thirteenth century. But the development of sculpture in the fourteenth century over all Europe was tending towards such a broader conception of figure and relief, and, furthermore, we might expect in a contemporary of Giotto a Gothic style with Florentine modifications. It is essential, however, that in spite of irregularities we should still call Andrea Pisano's reliefs Gothic. They make no pretention of creating an impression of depth or of an organic connection of the figures with their surroundings,19 and the architectural backgrounds are still nearly identical with the frames. Brunelleschi is not yet so very far away from Andrea Pisano's conception of relief. If we compare the two competition reliefs for the Baptistery door (Figs. 9, 10) with each other, we realize how conservative Brunelleschi is in his composition compared with Ghiberti, in spite of a certain strong realism in detail.20 There is no attempt made to give a logical distribution of the figures in space; they are carefully so arranged that they do not overlap, and instead of having the second ground following the foreground in depth, they are arranged one above the other. Flatness is here style; it is produced in spite of a high grade of relief, it is an old-fashioned Gothic element. While in Donatello's relief the flatness is a matter of technique, it is made to represent what is just its opposite, i. e. indefinite space and depth.

One has to be very careful also in drawing conclusions from a good observation Dr. Kauffmann makes: he points out that Donatello likes to arrange the architectural backgrounds simply and quietly in planes parallel to the relief ground. He sees in this characteristic again a habit taken over by Donatello from the preceding century, and he tries to bring it into a certain connection with the flatness of the relievo schiacciato, which he thinks might be furthered a good deal by it. The observation is certainly right, but do the conclusions hold? Was this restraint still a severe law for Donatello, as it had been for the Gothic artist? And has it anything to do with Donatello's special relief technique? He shows in one of his Paduan reliefs (the Healing of the Possessed Son) that he does not mind at all breaking up the peaceful relief planes and substituting for them lines which rush violently into depth; and in one of the tondi in S. Lorenzo he tries to construct the view of a building seen from one of its corners. Such attempts are comparatively rare in the whole fifteenth century-in painting one of the few examples is the curious Masacciesque panel of the Johnson collection in Philadelphia; this is due to the fact that the Renaissance never liked such effects very much, and tried to find an agreeable balance between the new possibilities and a certain reluctance to make full use of them. Only the Baroque period realized that they gave access to quite a new type of beauty. So if Donatello seems to be conservative in his architectural backgrounds, he is not alone, but he shares the tendency with most of his contemporaries. And essentially unaffected by this voluntary limitation is his quest for depth, by which he distinguishes his reliefs from the Gothic examples.

The clearness and the perfect visibility of Donatello's reliefs are possible in, but do not depend upon, this relievo schiacciato. They depend upon what the artist wants to say in it and how he says it, i. e. upon, his disegno, his invention, his style. We could imagine completely confused representations in relievo schiacciato. As a matter of fact, I do not know that we can claim such perfect clearness for all of Donatello's reliefs, especially the earlier ones, e. g. the Assunta

in Naples.

How little the flatness as an effect counted in Donatello's mind is evident from the care with which he avoids, at least in his earlier reliefs, any movement

naissance, and what distinguished it from all the preceding periods, was the completely new general basis: unity of space, scientifically founded, equality of all the elements represented, i. e. proportion in quite a general sense. Even Brunelleschi's use of classic motives smacks still of mediaeval methods. His Spinario is not the classic figure, understood in its formal qualities, but it has only the motif of it. It is reproduced in the manner of an antiquarian or curiosity hunter. Ghiberti, on the other hand, makes his borrowings from classic art determine the whole character of his relief. Brunelleschi was to discover the new truth in quite a different field.

^{19.} Perhaps we might find in Orcagna's reliefs (Fig. 8) a certain progressive tendency. His fondness for representing crowded scenes and for casual-looking cuttings of space reveal something like a different conception of space. He might be in this respect parallel to Giovanni da Milano and the whole development in the north. This fact has little importance for our problem. It shows only, what is quite natural but what one forgets only too often in such generalizations, that the development from the fourteenth century generalizations, that the development from the fourteenth century to the fifteenth came very gradually. Here is still a wide field for research. And again we must ask how important a part in the genesis of the Renaissance was played by the northern "late Gothic" realism.

^{20.} Dr. Kauffmann himself analyzes in a similar way Brunelleschi's Crucifix as Gothic in general conception and realistic in the study of the detail. That means that Brunelleschi in his sculpture is still almost completely Gothic. The adding of realistic detail in a mediaeval framework had been going on already for quite a considerable time in the Middle Ages. What was new in the Re-

of a figure parallel to the relief ground, any kind of outspoken profile. In this he was completely different from Brunelleschi, who, as Dr. Kauffmann points out, uses both devices to create the old-fashioned flatness and spacelessness of his reliefs. Donatello's intentions in this regard are much more similar to those of Ghiberti. Both of them like to give to movements the greatest possible three-dimensional value, i. e. the greatest spatial extension. They include in the reach of each figure as much space as possible, linking up in this way figures and space into an inextricable unity. The Assunta relief in Naples is a remarkable example of this in Donatello's oeuvre, as are the competition relief and most of the reliefs of the first door in Ghiberti's oeuvre.21 It is true that in the further development, when the first excitement over the newly acquired liberty had subsided, both artists introduced the profile figure into their reliefs again, both obviously because they wanted to make use of the highly expressive values which this kind of figure always has had and always will have. Donatello's reliefs in Padua are full of them and Ghiberti's second door shows them especially in the later compartments, as, e. g., in that of the Queen of Sheba.

The parallel development of Ghiberti and Donatello need not astonish us. It will seem quite natural as soon as we realize that the difference (i. e. in general tendency, not in personal style) between their earlier works is not so great as one usually assumes. Ghiberti's reliefs are as decided a declaration of war against the old Gothic principles as are those of Donatello. Even in his first known work, the competition relief (Fig. 9) he repudiates the neutral flat background which used to limit the scene. His landscape reclaims the few remains of it as sky or air, the angel speaking to Abraham precipitates out of the depth of the background, indicating better than anything else the intentions of the master. And is this intention at all different from that of Donatello when he designed the forshortened angels surrounding the Assunta in Naples? The only difference is that in the drawinglike technique of the relievo schiacciato there was a greater possibility of hiding weak points of forshortening by merciful clouds.

I hope I am not misunderstood. I only wish to prove that there is an identity of aim in both artists, a constatation which for the moment is essential to us, in order to establish the value of the flat relief for Donatello's development, in order to relegate it again to a secondary place, which is all it can claim, merely being a technical device, though as such it serves its purpose admirably. I do not wish to deny either that the preference for two different techniques makes the works of the two artists look completely different in their surface, in their ornamental and decorative values. But I must insist that both artists in their intentions are closer to each other than either of them is to the preceding Gothic period or even to Brunelleschi.

It would be quite useful to say here a few words

about the technical difference between Ghiberti's and

Donatello's sculpture. It is not only because Ghiberti was much more interested in classic art than Donatello, that he preferred the higher relief, but it is his whole training which forced him to adopt it. Ghiberti had learned in his goldsmith period all the metal techniques: repoussé, modeling in soft material, casting in metal and chasing, all techniques which invite a rather free and full round treatment of the relief. Donatello, however, in his stonemason's environment had to cope with the technical difficulties inherent in stone as material. And, similarly to Michelangelo, he imagines his figures and reliefs first projected on the frontal plane of his marble block, from which he begins to work systematically towards depth. The relievo schiacciato is the first possible grade of a satisfactory effect of depth obtainable in this way. So of course it was easier for Donatello to introduce the pictorial innovations of the period into his reliefs. Ghiberti had to work hard to reach a similar aim, going through a period of completely empirical perspective of air and light (e. g. the Baptism in Siena) before he could reconcile his high relief with the necessarily flat, wide background constructions of his second door. But even his slow progress from the limited depth of his earlier door to the empirical freedom of his second period and to the well constructed unity of his later reliefs is not so different from that of Donatello, if we consider as main steps in the latter's development works like the Fight of St. George, with its narrow space, the relief in Lille, with its still very definitely limited space, and the reliefs on the S. Lorenzo pulpits, with their almost unlimited space. It is curious to see how this parallel development of the two artists gets fused in their later years with a certain kind of mutual influence between them; it seems as if Donatello especially has taken over with the bronze technique a number of Ghiberti's characteristics of a more artistic kind.

When Ghiberti "die Reliefplatte autbrach wie durchgepfügtes Erdreich," that is his way of working towards the same effects that Donatello gets. This description which Dr. Kauffmann gives of Ghiberti's procedure is not very fortunate. It is not a question of breaking a pre-established relief plane, but it is a question of piling the modeling material-clay or wax-liberally and without any restrictions onto the solid background-a board or a piece of slate. This is the natural way that a sculptor trained as Ghiberti was frees himself of the fetters of the limited Gothic space, a thing which Brunelleschi had not yet dared to do. Ghiberti gives up in this way the definite ideal window pane which divided every Gothic relief so rigorously from the spectator. Space and figures expand now quite freely towards the spectator, as freely as Donatello's space, which seems to flee away from the spectator, indefinitely into depth.

If we convince ourselves that this way of looking at things-which differs perhaps only in nuances from that of Dr. Kauffmann's-has a certain right, we must agree that we have to be very careful in quoting the formula of the "flatness" of Donatello's relief style too often.

Reading Dr. Kauffmann's analysis of Donatello's earlier statues, e. g. that of the St. George, one may sometimes get the impression that the author has forgotten the strong plasticity of these figures in his

^{21.} It is of no importance that Ghiberti's first door shows some reliefs, e. g. the Crucifixion, which are still almost completely Gothic. Nobody wishes to deny that Ghiberti grows out of a Gothic tradition; that is so natural that it scarcely needs mentioning. But we should not judge the masters according to what they grew out of but according to what they succeeded in accomplishing.

preoccupation with their "perfect visibility" in their front views. That visibility they have, because Donatello began his statues in the same way as his reliefs, viz. with a carefully thought-out design of the motif on the front side of the block of stone. We must never forget, however, that he worked out his ideas into full round creations, which very well bear inspection from other sides than the front. That holds good for even the earlier works, like the St. George. But we can observe a growing perfection in this regard in his further development. And his latest works, like the Judith and the Magdalen, can only be fully appreciated if one tries to understand the delicate transitions of the modeling in the round. A strange exception is, however, the bronze David, which in this company seems flat and has very harsh breaks in the movement, especially in the torsion of the body as it is expressed in the back.

What in Dr. Kauffmann's analysis of the sculptures is perhaps only an understandable overemphasizing of a newly discovered principle, proves to be more fatal when he deals with the architectural creations of the master. When he talks about their Flächigkeit (which is a somewhat less dangerous word than flatness), I can agree with him only to a limited extent in regard to some of the earlier works. But even in the Coscia monument I would not dare to speak of a Flächenverband, since the sarcophagus and the curtain, with their strong projections, have such a strong tendency to break the smooth continuity of the single parts. And if I consider the level of the framing columns as binding for the whole monument, this level is completely durchgepflügt, or broken up by a series of deep holes. Here we find ourselves back near the problem of the two doors in the Old Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Had the author insisted more on the strong three-dimensional qualities of Donatello's later architecture (e. g. the basis of the Cavalcanti altar, the strong projections of the moldings of the cantoria, etc.) he would not have needed the complicated excuses for the dissonance Donatello created in this case. And perhaps he would also have considered some sides of the reconstruction of the Paduan high altar under another light. If we do not believe in Donatello's tendency towards Flächigkeit, we can take away the disturbing background of the pala et tabernaculo without any qualms of conscience.

I hope the kindly disposed reader and the author will forgive me this long review, which tries in very insufficient space to explain some views of mine which differ from those of the author. After reading such a brilliant book, after considering and trying to understand and to appreciate the whole significance of its many ideas, one is tempted to indulge in writing down one's own ideas, even if it can be done only in a very incomplete and inadequate and scattered way. Perhaps they may be of use in bringing us nearer the never-reached goal of truth.²²

ULRICH MIDDELDORF

22. Since I wrote this review there has appeared in the Kritische Berichte, 1932/3, pp. 126-131, a periodical usually dedicated to book reviews, an article by J. Lanyi on Donatello. I am rather puzzled at the meaning and the purpose of this article, as it bears no reference to Dr. Kauffmann's book and even seems to have been written before the publication of the latter. On the other hand, it contradicts a number of attributions to Donatello, which Dr. Kauff-

CHINESE CALLIGRAPHY. By Lucy Driscoll and Kenji Toda. vii, 71 pp.; 17 figs. Chicago, University Press, 1935. \$ 2.

Anybody familiar with Chinese art knows how closely painting and calligraphy are connected, how calligraphy is regarded as the twin of painting and even given precedence by some native scholars. Western critics have usually been content to quote the Chinese views. It seems that most of them feel a little embarrassed when it comes to discussing Chinese calligraphy; the problem is indeed extraordinarily subtle and complex, and almost inaccessible to an Occidental, for the few articles published about it have not provided sufficient material and criteria to permit an independent opinion.

Two principal explanations have been offered in connection with the Chinese point of view: one, that writing and painting have a common source, most of the oldest written characters being pictographs, and as such having more or less the quality of pictures; the other, that writer and painter use the same materials, Chinese ink, silk or paper, the brush, the means of expression being thus in both cases the same - the brush stroke.

If we admit for a moment the correctness of this reasoning, the first argument would plainly suggest the predominance of painting over writing. But it disregards the fact that writing and painting are two totally different things, originating from fundamentally different mental attitudes towards the things

mann has accepted. Would it not have been better to add to this article, even if it was already set in type, a few words explaining why it could not consider Dr. Kauffmann's book, in order to avoid the painful impression of a kind of anonymous criticism? Considering the fact that Dr. Lanyi gives in no case a proof for his new suggestions, I think it is better, for the present, not to take them as anything else than his application to some "Art criticism Patent Office" to secure the exclusive right for certain ideas of his, for which he now will owe us the definite proof. Bewildering, however, is the fact that such an appeal to the benevolence of the scholarly world is accompanied by strange and strong polemical utterances against (among others) "sogenannte Kenner" and "Agenten des Handels," the names of whom remain in the dark. I wish Dr. Lanyi would in this case, also, explain what was in his mind. I wonder, e.g., if he thinks it was one of the "sogenannte Kenner...." whom he seems to hate so much who forged the inscription DONATELLO on the basis of the statue of St. John on the Campanile? I would prefer the hypothesis that this inscription, which has pure Quattrocento character, was put on this figure in 1464, when the places of these statues were changed and when Donatello was still alive and would have protested against the interference of meddlers, whose aim it may have been to upset the critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Another article of Dr. Lanyi's, which has come out just as these pages go into print, demands being mentioned here. In Rivista d'Arte, XVIII (1936), pp. 137 ff. he identifies the puzzling so-called Joshua in the interior of the cathedral at Florence with a prophet commissioned of and executed by Nanni di Banco in 1408. One is at first surprised at this identification, as the statue of the prophet is a very unsatisfactory piece of sculpture, but Dr. Lanyi's arguments and a careful "Morellian" stylistic comparison are very convincing, and we have probably to accept this statue as the earliest among the know works by Nanni di Banco (always remembering that the artist had been working since 1406 on the Porta della Mandorla, but that we have been until now incapable of identifying his share in it). We shall hope that other such valuable contributions will grow out of Dr. Lanyi's above-mentioned vague suggestions.

will grow out of Dr. Lanyi's above-mentioned vague suggestions.

I am glad to see that my friend L. H. Heydenreich professes views very similar to mine on Dr. Kauffmann's book in a short but remarkable review of it in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, of March 11, 1936, no. 117/8. And quite a number of the more general ideas I found to my great pleasure pronounced by R. Oertel in a review of some recent books on Masaccio in Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft.

depicted, and striving for aims totally distinct from each other: it is one thing to handle a combination of lines, fixed for once and all, and another one to create a form ever anew. Granted that some calligraphers compress or stretch the characters, even give an asymmetrical shape to an originally strictly symmetrical pattern, the result is never a new form. The difference between a calligrapher and a painter corresponds exactly to the difference between a Musikant and a Musikar, the interpreter—ingenious though he be—and the creator of music.

The second argument is a materialistic one, and like all arguments of the kind is not at all to the point. Taken at its face value, it would correspond to a theory which would try to explain the various styles of pen drawing in Europe, from the Utrecht Psalter to Rembrandt, as the influence of contemporary calligraphy—obviously a silly idea. But the argument is intended to have a more subtle signification, namely that the emancipation of the brush stroke from strict servitude to form was reached earlier in calligraphy than in painting. Influence of calligraphy is understood to mean that this free, loosened line was taken over by the painter. But here too is overlooked the decisive fact that the brush stroke is

always a means, never an end.

Some of the Chinese were perfectly aware of this, for the oft quoted saying that "the idea ought to exist before the brush" puts the brushwork very neatly in its proper place. The best explanation of how this mysterious "idea" is realized seems to be given 'y Kuo Jo-hsū in his Tru-hua Chien-wên chih, published shortly after 1074 A. D.: "This means to have from beginning to end an order uninterrupted and a relation unbroken." It goes without saying that each epoch interpreted order and relation in a different way; nevertheless, these two concepts were regarded from the outset as the fundamental categories, by the help of which a Chinese critic ascertained whether "life movement," the ultimate criterion, was present in a piece of writing or not.

"Life movement" is the literal translation of shëng-lung, the second part of the first principle of Hsieh Ho (c. 400 A. D.): ch'i-yūn shēng-lung. The principle has puzzled Oriental as well as Western scholars considerably, most of them attaching to these four characters a philosophic meaning impossible at the time, as justly remarked by Osvald Sirén. Shëng-lung is certainly not a logical concept, but an aesthetic one, and designates the artistic phenomenon which we call rhythm. Giles and Okakura were right in introducing this expression in their translations.

About "life movement" and its importance much is said in the book on Chinese calligraphy by Driscoll and Toda, and the authors are justified in doing so. Yet the reader may not find his way easily because no coherent explanation of its meaning, of how it is made visible and recognizable, has been inserted at the beginning. Apart from this, their essay is very good. It makes us acquainted with a good many views about, and examples of, calligraphy. A valuable definition of Chinese calligraphy is given on page 5: "Calligraphy, reduced to its essentials consists of taking this particular form, or complex of forms i. e. the character, enriching the dynamic content and more finely ordering the pattern." Naturally, calligraphy was at all times intimately connected with

everyday writing and took part in its evolution, the result of this process being the various styles. It was a process of increasing slurring.

The principal sources for the historical part are Chang Yen-yüan's Fa shu yao lu, published, it appears, after the same author's famous Li tai ming hua chi of 847 A. D., and the Shu yüan ching hua by Ch'ên Ssǔ of about the middle of the thirteenth century.

The translations of the most important parts of these and some other treatises on calligraphy are highly welcome. Written by calligraphers for students of the art, they contain mostly precepts for technique: the "Nine Forces," the "Eight Laws," the "Battle Array of the Brush," the "Eighty-Four Laws" deal, all of them, with things which can be taught and apprehended.

The aim of the authors "to understand what the Chinese themselves have said about calligraphy as an art" is certainly attained; indeed, they have given much more: a good survey of the evolution of Chinese calligraphy, a short history of the best calligraphers, and an excellent account of their achievements.

LUDWIG BACHHOFER

The Spirit of Man in Asian Art. By Laurence Binyon. xv, 217 pp.; 70 pls. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935.

This book is the record of six Charles Eliot Norton lectures, delivered at Harvard in 1934-35. The aim of these lectures was to make the audience see how some of the most important races of Asia, the Persians, the Hindus, the Chinese, and the Japanese had "expressed their relation to the world and the universe through creative art." This is a very noble and exalted theme, and so are the others promised in the introduction: "to suggest the likenesses and contrasts between these arts and the arts of the Western countries, the reaction of the arts of the various races of Asia on each other, and the specific virtue in the contribution of each of them to the whole. Perhaps by the way we may be led to enquire into the nature of art itself."

Binyon is a famous English poet, and apart from this he was for many years in charge of the prints and drawings in the British Museum; he is, in a general, human way, deeply interested in Asian art. If this book is taken as the impress of the arts of Asia on a very sensitive and cultured mind, it is of considerable value. But Binyon's is certainly not a scholarly mind, and his personal ideas and sensations are blended with a mass of antiquated and outworn opinions, so that the advisability of presenting them to American students may be questioned. It requires a vast knowledge, and a close intimacy with facts, to disentangle the good portions from the misleading ones which cover a conspicuous part of the book. The situation is aggravated by the wonderful English in which the whole is written.

There is only one section in the book which is very good, that on Japanese art: there the author has intuitively grasped the very soul of Japan, its attitude towards the varied aspects of life, and towards art. This part is admirable, and saves the whole.

LUDWIG BACHHOFER

REMBRANDT. By Arthur M. Hind. xx, 158 pp.; 112 pls.; 4to. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1932. \$ 7.50.

Especially timely during the present increased interest in "Baroque" expressionism is Mr. Hind's 1932 book on Rembrandt. It is in substance the Charles Eliot Norton lectures which he delivered at Harvard in the year 1930-31. With fine photographic reproductions of over 100 of the works of Rembrandt and his school, careful and full footnotes, and a generous bibliographical and documentary appendix, it is a considerable addition to the comparatively limited amount of Rembrandt material available in

English.

With Rembrandt as a focal point, Mr. Hind occasionally expresses his opinions on art. We find, for instance, on the first page, that he is opposed to a purist point of view. He challenges the position of Roger Fry and Clive Bell which rules "humanity" out of art, or at least deprives it of artistic value. On the second page we find that he is not a champion of l'art pour l'art. A little later, he mentions the "barrenness of the modern school of abstract art". which seems to him "to come from too much theory and too little simple acceptance of life and its traditions." He criticizes Croce's philosophy which places art in contemplation rather than in the making and thus postulates all arts as one and comprehensible by each other. Hind regards art as "beginning with the material.... and the arts as separated, not united thereby; and rising, according to the human or spiritual idea that inspires the work, from a simple piece of craft to higher kinds of creation."

The text takes up only 135 pages. It is in lecture style, a recitative. The author, however, does not pretend to be a literary artist. He is a scholar and research student. He says, though, that he has cared less for adding his iota to knowledge than for furthering the enjoyment of works of art. The result is that this text is less successful than that which accompanies his Catalogue of the Etchings, for the technical problems of attribution do not greatly interest the layman yet the discussion of them-by reason of being directed toward the layman-is a little too cursory to absorb the student of art. It may be thought of favorably as a program with the reproductions or as a running outline for the casual

The etchings and drawings are emphasized, as they are also by H. W. Singer, as the mediums through which Rembrandt can best be comprehended. The layout of the book is clear. The few known personal details of his life are not carefully noted and explained - a welcome omission after the many recitals by other authors-yet his life and environment are sketched for an appreciation of the artist as a man, as a personality, and as a Dutchman of the seventeenth century. The book should be read, if possible, with the catalogues of Bode and Valentiner and Hind's catalogue of etchings at hand.

Special stress is laid on Rembrandt's development from the purely expressive to the more formal, from the romantic to the more disciplined, from the naturalistic to the more architectural; and the later products are deemed more "Italian"-in the sense of Michelangelo's definitions than the earlier works.

Hind gives the dates 1632-1642 for Rembrandt's best period. That Rembrandt was averse not to practical academic study but to the theories of the Academies is pointed out. His increasing tendency to chiaroscuro throughout his life is explained by Hind, "the convention by which colour in painting is reduced to a minimum will.... contribute to the clarity by which the artist expresses human emotion." He finds that in later life Rembrandt's figures become more universal and monumental, more abstracted

from the common view of life.

There is a chapter on portraiture in which Rembrandt is placed in the tradition of portrait painting, a chapter on landscape, and a concluding chapter on Rembrandt's genius. Rembrandt was undoubtedly influenced by Jan Van Goyen's landscapes and the early Haarlem school; but here, as in all his work, he was remarkably independent. In landscape drawing and etching Rembrandt is unsurpassed. In the last chapter, his supremacy in expressing human emotion is again emphasized, his perseverance and devotion to his art is stressed, a plate of Daumier's and one of Giotto's are reproduced for comparison with two of Rembrandt's, the various stages of several famous etchings are discussed, and the author summarizes his own position concerning art, and concerning Rembrandt. "Certain characteristics of Rembrandt's art must be taken for granted, e. g. the tendency to story and drama, and the lack of those brighter schemes of colour which are common to so much medieval, and so much modern work. These characteristics are, no doubt, to some extent national or temporary; the misty atmosphere of Holland, the dimly lit houses with their latticed windows, and the dark costume of his protestant surroundings may have partly accounted for his pictorial atmosphere and low scale of color.... Accepting these characteristics, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that among all painters of modern times no one has expressed the human spirit through his art more completely than Rembrandt."

Hind believes that 600-700 of the 750 paintings attributed to Rembrandt by Bode and Valentiner and between 250 and 300 of the 375 etchings attributed by Bartsch are authentic. In doing so he disregards John C. Van Dyke's provocative statements. Van Dyke has much logic on his side. It is almost impossible, for a practical artist at least, to believe that a great portrait painter could have no more absolute perception of forms than to see a model once with a firm well-shaped nose, another time with a bulbous one, another time with a crooked one and so on, especially when the model was himself or one of his family. Van Dyke, although he recommends Hind's 1923 publication on the etchings, has directly questioned some of his attributions; but the questions raised have not been answered. Perhaps Van Dyke has been a little excessive in his doubting, but his ideas cannot be denied all validity. Valentiner agrees with Hind in attributing hundreds of the now listed works to Rembrandt's hand, and he derides all attempts to subtract this great bulk of famous painting, etching, and drawing from Rembrandt's personal score. Laurie's method of analyzing pictures by means of magnified photographs is mentioned in the appendix.

This book is welcome, regardless of criticism which

can be leveled against it, because the author is known and respected for his work on the subject, because it is carefully written, and because it is of a practical size. It is not so small that the reproductions are insignificant looking, and it is not so large that it can be studied only in a library. It is also welcome because no social or philosophical bias of the author's colors his use of his material. Whereas Valentiner

gives Rembrandt a social philosophy, makes him a champion of class obliteration, and gives him an ultra transcendent spirituality, Hind is more matter of fact. This book is intended merely to promote intelligent understanding by means of knowledge of the artist and of his work.

NANCY MILLETTE

